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The Country Parson As Research Scholar:
Thomas Percy, 1760-1770

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BETWEEN 1761 and 1770 Thomas Percy published ten books: in 1761, *Hau Kiou Chooan*, a novel "translated from the Chinese"; in 1762, *Miscellaneous Pieces Relating to the Chinese* and a curious volume called *The Matrons*; in 1763, *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry from the Islandic Language*; in 1764, a new translation of *The Song of Solomon* (in which, incidentally, Percy's interest was primarily in the poetry and especially in the oriental imagery); in 1765, the famous *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*; in 1766, *A Key to the New Testament*; in 1767, 1768, and 1769, nothing—no book, that is, that actually achieved publication. But in this period occurred the printing of two works which were never to be finished. Of one of these, an edition of the works of the Duke of Buckingham, there is a unique copy in the British Museum, and unfinished as it is, it remains the most nearly complete edition of Buckingham that we have to this day. The other work was Percy's edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, which was an attempted reprint of what Percy took to be the first edition. Of this edition, there are apparently two copies extant.¹ To return to our year-by-year catalogue, in 1770 there appeared Percy's *Northern Antiquities*, a translation of Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Danne-marc*. Though translating Mallet, Percy refused to follow the Swiss scholar slav-

¹ In the British Museum and the Duke of Norfolk's library. Besides these copies, there are in the Bodleian Library two sets of revised proofs of Vol. I; and of Vol. II, a set of first proofs of sheets c-e, two sets of revised proofs of c-e, and a revised proof of signatures f₁-f₄.

ishly, and corrected such gross mistakes as Mallet's confusion of the Celtic and Teutonic peoples. In 1770 also appeared *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland*. Here again Percy broke new ground with the first of the medieval household books to be published.

This series of publications represents a remarkable achievement. It made its impression on Percy's contemporaries, one of whom writes to a friend in 1766: "The elegant Mr. Percy, the editor of the *Reliques of Poetry*, has not published one work this winter, which I am a little surprised at."²

We must not forget that this accomplishment was that of a young man—most of it that of a man in his thirties—and a man who was burdened with other cares and duties. He was the clergyman in charge of two country parishes, and though we think of Percy's as the lukewarm Erastian church of the eighteenth century, Percy himself had piety, and Dr. Johnson, who took such matters seriously, vouches for Percy's conscientiousness in his pastoral duties.

Percy's vicarage was at Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire. It is quite a tiny village of stone cottages with thatched roofs. The church is handsome and graceful; across from it is Percy's vicarage, now no longer church property, for the parish of Easton Maudit was merged with its near neighbor Bozeat only a few years ago, and the vicarage sold into private hands. The present owner of the vicarage, an elderly man, is the jockey who rode the winner in the Grand National in 1906. All over the house are faded pictures of famous race horses, and mounted fox heads—"masks," as they are called. Northamptonshire is a celebrated fox-hunting county, "the county of spires and squires," and so what has happened to the vicarage—though Percy was no fox-hunting parson—is not out of keeping.

Though the church and former vicarage remain, the country seat of the Earl of Sussex, once near the church, has disappeared. Both the second and the third Earls proved to be good friends to Percy. He frequently dined at the manor house, he made use of the Earl's franking privilege, and not least, there was the great country-house library,

² Joseph Cockfield to the Rev. Weeden Butler: see John Nichols (and John Bowyer Nichols), *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1817-58, 8 vols.), v, 760.

which, if not specifically a scholar's library, was most serviceable to a young and impecunious parson. It was a large library—Edmond Malone found it contained some "curious things"—and it had a particular treasure in the Yelverton MSS., now in the British Museum.³

The situation of a country vicarage could in itself be conducive to literary productivity. This was a matter which Percy was shrewd enough to discern. In 1756 he writes his cousin, William Cleveland: "The life I lead is suited to my taste. My time is divided between books and pleasure. . . . I am near enough to London, yet do not feel the inconvenience of its neighbourhood. When I am in a studious fit, I bury myself in books. . . ."⁴ London was some sixty-five miles away. By stage coach Percy could get into London in one day—a typical entry in his *Journal* reads: "Set out in the Berlin. Br[eakfast] at Newport: dine at Dunst[able]. Tea at Mims. got to M^r Backwell's 7 o'clock."⁵ Percy visited London rather frequently; he had relatives there, and a little later, as early as 1758, he had interesting and important literary friends—Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and David Garrick. The alternation of London's intense stimulation followed by Easton Maudit's undisturbed leisure might not have been good for every young man. But evidently it proved to be the perfect regimen for Percy. The primary disadvantage of such a country residence was its distance from libraries. Percy writes longingly to Thomas Warton at Oxford: "Were I at the fountain head of literature, as you are."⁶ Had Percy not been

³ He says so in a letter to Percy of 13 Dec. 1802: see *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Edmond Malone* (ed. Arthur Tillotson, Baton Rouge, 1944), p. 129.—The Yelverton MSS., acquired in 1953, are Add. MSS. 48000-48196. For an account of them, see the *British Museum Quarterly* XIX (1954), 3-9.

⁴ See A. C. C. Gaussen, *Percy, Prelate and Poet* (London, 1908), p. 13.

⁵ Percy's *Journal*, now in the British Museum, is numbered Add. MSS. 32336-37.—A "berlin" was a four-wheeled carriage with a separate seat behind, detached from the body of the vehicle.—Easton was (by way of Bozeat) about twelve miles from Newton Pagnell (Bucks.); thence to Dunstable (Beds.) was some seventeen miles. To South Mims (Middlesex)—though North Mims (Herts.) may be meant—was another twenty-two miles; and it was about fourteen miles thence to the center of London. This route (which from Newport onward takes advantage of one of the great postroads of the eighteenth century) was Percy's usual way to London as many entries in his *Journal* attest.—Mr. Backwell was a London friend of Percy's who is frequently mentioned in the *Journal*.

⁶ In a letter of 28 Nov. 1762: see *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Thomas Warton* (ed. M. G. Robinson, and Leah Dennis, Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 69.—The edition of Percy's correspondence of which David Nichol Smith and Cleanth Brooks are general editors has been transferred from the Louisiana University Press to the Yale University Press.

able to solve the problem of securing books and MSS., he certainly would not have been able to edit the books that he did. How he solved these problems constitutes the principle matter of this essay.

In view of the severe aspersions cast upon Percy's scholarship by nineteenth-century scholars like Hales and Furnivall, men who were irritated by his tinkering with ballad texts in the *Reliques*, a word in defence of my title is necessary—"The Country Parson as *Research Scholar*." For if the books that Percy produced in the 1760's had been only superior literary journalism, credit would surely be due, but hardly of the order proper to serious scholarship.

Yet, in spite of the unfortunate method that Percy saw fit to adopt for handling his texts in the *Reliques*, he was not a careless scholar. He possessed extraordinary knowledge, a zeal for truth, and a critical conscience. These qualities reveal themselves very clearly in the dissertations printed in the *Reliques* and in his edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, most of which dates from the same period as the *Reliques*.

One may well begin with Percy's learning. His special equipment—Oxford had, of course, provided him with a sound knowledge of the classics and at least a working knowledge of Hebrew—was his training in the romance languages. It was his knowledge of Portuguese, for example, that enabled him to produce the first of his Chinese publications, *Hau Kiou Chooan*, for though some three-quarters of the manuscript from which Percy worked was in English, the rest was in Portuguese and presented a problem of translation incidental to Percy's more general task as editor.⁷ (Percy, of course, had no Chinese and was careful to refer to himself merely as "the editor.") The second Chinese venture—the *Miscellaneous Pieces*—depended heavily upon Percy's command of French, for most of the essays were translated from the French, several of them from the writings of French Jesuit missionaries.

Percy's Chinese publications were, of course, part of the general

⁷ Percy got the manuscript from a Northamptonshire neighbor, James Wilkinson, whose uncle of the same name had been in the East India Company and, as Percy says in the Preface to *Hau Kiou Chooan*, had "resided much at Canton." The nature of Percy's editorial work has been discussed in *The Review of English Studies* by Alda Milner-Barry, II (1926), 51-61, III (1927), 214-17; by L. F. Powell, II, 446-55; by Vincent H. Ogburn, IX (1933), 30-36; and by T. C. Fan, XXII (1946), 117-25; and also by Irving L. Churchill in an unpublished Yale dissertation (1932) entitled, "The Early Literary Career of Thomas Percy."

mid-eighteenth-century vogue for the Orient, but Percy's were distinctive in two ways. In the first place, Percy was concerned with the literature of China and the translations of Chinese fiction and poetry that he published seem to be the only ones produced in English during the eighteenth century.⁸ In the second place, Percy was genuinely concerned to elucidate Chinese customs and manners and so his Chinese novel as well as the *Miscellaneous Pieces* abounds in notes and special dissertations on the various aspects of Chinese culture.

Perhaps the neatest way in which to put the case for Percy's early scholarship, however, is to examine a little-known work of his, *The Matrons*, a book that one is inclined to dismiss as a mere *jeu d'esprit*. Percy subtitles it "Six Short Histories" and all six narratives have to do with widows who accepted the new lover much too hastily. The volume is dedicated with mock solemnity to the matrons of Great Britain and Ireland. Percy was careful to keep his name off the title-page. The dedication is merely subscribed "The Editor." *The Matrons* is harmless enough, though with what delight would Joseph Ritson have shaken it in the face of the highly respectable Bishop, had he known about it! And how Percy must have shuddered at the notion that Ritson might discover the secret!

The volume is very interesting bibliographically, with many cancelled leaves and blanks. In my copy all but one of the blank leaves have for some reasons been excised from the book.⁹ The cancels and blanks point to rather untidy changes in the book—possibly to spur-of-the-moment rearrangements. There is other evidence suggesting an unforeseen expansion of the book. Percy's Journal for 23 May 1761 reads, "Sold Chinese Miscellanies and Three Matrons," whereas the volume that appeared a year later contains *six* matrons. How the book came into being in Percy's mind, and how it developed, I think we can

⁸ It should be pointed out, however, that some specimens of Chinese literature do occur in the English translations of Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *Description . . . de l'Empire de la Chine* (Paris, 1735, 4 vols.). These translations appeared under the titles: *The General History of China* (London, 1736, 4 vols.) and *A Description of the Empire of China* (London, 1738-41, 2 vols.). Percy frequently cites the latter of these as well as the original French edition in his notes to the Chinese works.

⁹ The collation is: []² A⁶ B—Q⁸ R⁴. Signatures B₂ and I₁, cancels, were at one time stacked with Sig. [], as is shown by an offset of I_{1v} on the recto of the frontispiece. The following leaves are blanks: A₆, C₁, G₄, H₇, N₅ (with N₆₋₈ as stubs), and Q₂. The Harvard and John Hay (Brown University) copies were described by Irving L. Churchill, whose collation has been tested against the author's copy.

conjecture with a good deal of plausibility. The story of the Chinese matron, taken from Du Halde's history of China, one supposes, came to Percy's attention while he was working on *Hau Kiou Choaan*. He cites Du Halde frequently in his notes to this work. The story of the Chinese matron must have at once reminded him of Petronius' story of the Ephesian matron, the classic instance of such conduct. Evidently the same kind of tale could turn up in completely different cultures. Since Percy was at this time beginning to get seriously into his edition of the works of Buckingham, the French matron, one assumes, soon joined herself to this pair of rather scandalous ladies. For the French matron comes, as the subtitle tells us, "From a letter of Sir G. Eth-eridge to the Duke of Buckingham."

I take these—the Ephesian, the Chinese, and the French—to be the first three matrons, probably the three who comprised the book which he sold to Dodsley in 1761. But the other matrons, one imagines, followed easily and perhaps long before Percy printed. The British matron suggested herself through current scandal. England had been buzzing a few years earlier at the antics of the lady described in Benjamin Victor's *The Widow of the Wood*, 1755. This is a little work in which all proper names are indicated only by an initial letter and a dash, though some extant copies have had the names written into the blanks.¹⁰ The fifth, the Turkish matron, as Irving Churchill some years ago showed in his Yale dissertation, derives from *The Court Secret*, 1742, a work usually attributed to George Lyttelton, and perhaps suggested to Percy by his friend William Shenstone, who was Lyttelton's near neighbor. But why Percy in a note in *The Matrons* says it is taken from a MS. copy, I have not been able to discover. The sixth and last is the Roman matron. It is plain that she made her way into the book through Percy's acquaintance with the older English literature, a field into which he was being drawn by 1761 by his researches for the *Reliques*. A subtitle tells us that the Roman matron was derived from the "Old Story-Book, The Seven Wise Maisters of Rome." Furthermore, Percy's note indicates that his text was taken from an ancient copy in blackletter, and thus enables us to trace the text back to his Cambridge friend, Richard Farmer. For only three *blackletter*

¹⁰ The widow was Mrs. John Whitby, *née* Northy. The man she schemed to marry was Sir William Wolseley of the Staffordshire family.

copies of the work are extant, one of these being a mere fragment of two leaves. The quarto copy in blackletter, now in the British Museum, once belonged to Richard Farmer and undoubtedly it was Farmer who told Percy of the story and lent him his copy, printed about 1500 by Wynkyn de Worde.

The Chinese matron probably came out of Percy's reading of Du Halde, but since Goldsmith makes use of the same story in the eighteenth of his *Chinese Letters*, first published in March 1760, it is just possible that Percy got it from him. Percy had met Goldsmith for the first time on 21 February 1759. But since Percy was at work on his translation of the Chinese novel some time before he met Goldsmith—he had finished the first book by 5 February 1759—it is more likely that he had discovered the Chinese matron for himself.

The Matrons, then, if on one level a kind of joke, a little sheaf of slightly scandalous stories, on another level is an interesting exercise in comparative literature. Percy was evidently fascinated by the fact that the same kind of story kept bobbing up in different cultures and ages, and that in those different cultures it was treated in somewhat different ways. His interest in the modern languages gave him his start, but friends must have made suggestions and called new materials to his attention, and before the book was completed, Percy was working with texts in blackletter. The little volume gives in capsule form Percy's early scholarly interests, methods, and aims.

Though Percy made occasional trips to London where he read in the London libraries, including the newly established British Museum, and though at least once he had a lengthy stay at Cambridge where he copied ballads for some days in the Pepysian Library, his great problem was that of books. It was highly important, therefore, for him to establish himself with correspondents in the universities. An early friend was Richard Farmer, whose brilliant little pamphlet on the learning of Shakespeare elicited from Samuel Johnson the emphatic comment "that the question is now forever decided."¹¹ When Percy

¹¹ Percy reported Johnson's statement to Farmer in a letter of 15 Jan. 1767: see *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Richard Farmer* (ed. Cleanth Brooks, Baton Rouge, 1946), p. 121. In his second edition, Farmer was happy to conclude the Preface with these words: "... I hope I may assume with some confidence, what one of the first Critics of the Age has pleased to declare on reading the Former edition, that 'The Question is now for ever decided.'"

met him in 1762, Farmer was only twenty-six years old, but he had already begun to build up his splendid Elizabethan collection. He was a good-natured friend, and Percy learned to rely upon him for information and for all sorts of advice and help. It was Farmer, for example, who sent Percy Chaucer's little poem "Your yēn two wol slee me sodenly," which he had discovered in the Pepysian Library, and thus allowed Percy to score a coup in the *Reliques* by publishing a new Chaucer item. Farmer also sent Percy books out of the Cambridge University Library. For example, Percy had the use for some years of the Cambridge University copy of the 1574 edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, for he borrowed it at least twice, in 1762 and in 1765, and on the second occasion did not return it until 1767. One sometimes finds Percy wheedling Farmer, thus:

I kiss the rod of your reproof: I am very sensible my request was unreasonable and extravagant; and thank you for your great lenity in not being more offended at it. I shall not grudge a Journey to Cambridge, whenever I have leisure to turn my attention more particularly to the subject of the Old Metrical Romances.—And yet, my dear Farmer, don't be angry with me, if I renew my request to you to procure me (but at your own leisure and convenience) the old printed book out of the Archives: I am sure you may get it, as easily as you did *Surrey's Poems*.¹²

One sometimes finds Percy promising that he will not get Farmer into trouble: "With regard to your Archive Collection of old Tracts, excuse my mistaken positiveness, and, if possible, get me the Volume: The utmost Care shall be taken that neither you, nor the Vice Chancellor shall come into any scrape about it."¹³ Percy could also count upon Farmer to be generous with his personal library, and the letters between them that have survived indicate many borrowings, some of which sound to the modern ear very large indeed. For example, Percy writes on one occasion asking Farmer to lend him all the volumes of "Warburton's Shakespear. Theobald's Ditto Meres' Wits Treasury and Wit's Commonwealth All your old quarto copies of Shakespear."¹⁴ Percy had to borrow *Wit's Treasury* a second time, and we find

¹² Percy-Farmer *Correspondence*, p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58. Farmer's sale Catalogue (*Bibl. Farmeriana*, 7 May 1798) indicates (pp. 357-58) that at his death he possessed some twenty quartos printed before 1709,

Farmer conjuring him: "Pray, take care of *Master Meeres*: I would not lose him for the world." And he adds, "By the way, *Wyatt* must be return'd the Friday preceding *Lady-day*—I beg you will not fail of this. I think you have 3 or 4 Books of mine, which may travel at the same time, if you have done with them."¹⁵ Percy made large demands upon Farmer, but Farmer valued what Percy was doing, trusted him, and did not find his trust violated.

The Bodleian rule which forbade the taking of books from the Library probably had much to do with Percy's heavy reliance upon Farmer, Blakeway, and his other Cambridge friends. But Percy could not afford to neglect the Bodleian and other libraries of his mother university, and he did not. In May 1761, he had begun his correspondence with Tom Warton, some months before his first letter to Farmer. Though Percy's first letter to Warton (28 May 1761) is dated from Easton Maudit, Percy's Journal shows that the letter was actually written in London on a day in which he dined with Dodsley, with whom, a few days before, he had contracted for the publication of a number of books, including the *Reliques*. A few days before posting Warton this first letter, Percy wrote, "in all the hurry of a Coffee-house," as he puts it, to his friend Shenstone to say: "I have considered [your queries about the Old Ballads] . . . , I have held a council of war with M^r Johnson, and am at length come to the following resolutions,"¹⁶ which he proceeds to outline in ample detail. Percy's conception of the *Reliques* had, by May 1761, crystallized. Now formally committed to this work and to at least four other projects, it was high time for him to find means to consult the books and manuscripts that he would need to see. Hence the letter introducing himself to Warton.

to which number should be added the copy of *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600, that he gave to Edmond Malone: see Alfred W. Pollard and Henrietta Bartlett, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594-1709* (New Haven, 1939), p. 58, no. 615.

¹⁵ Percy-Farmer Correspondence, p. 170.—The "Wyatt" is STC 2726, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid commonlye called thee. vii. penytentiall psalmes, drawen into englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyat Knyght . . . Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde, at the sygne of thee Starre, by Thomas Raynald. and John Harryngton, 1549*. In addition to this Cambridge University copy, which Percy had been allowed to borrow through the good offices of Farmer, there is one other copy known, that in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

¹⁶ In a letter of 22 May 1761: see Hans Hecht, *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone: ein Briefwechsel . . . , Quellen und Forschungen* (CIII) (Strasburg, 1909), p. 53.

Percy owned a copy of the Bodleian Catalogue of 1674, which he employed to good purpose, and he made constant use of other catalogues. A typical request from Percy to Warton reads: "Yet when you have a little respite I will beg the favour of you to procure me Transcripts of *Gascoigne's Ode to Lady Bridges*,—of *The Relation of the Duke of Buck^m &c* 8494.27. fol.—of *King Edward and the Tanner*, C. 39, Art. Seld.—and permit me to add another article to the List, *The Lamentation of James the first* of Scotland made, while he was prisoner in the English Court, beginning thus

Heigh in the hevyns figure circulare . . ."¹⁷

But Warton had trouble in finding the *Lamentation of James*. Percy's reference was inadequate, and Warton conjectured that Percy might be using Bernard's catalogue, that is, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico*, 2 vols. fol. Oxford, 1697. But though Percy made much use of Bernard's Catalogue, he had in this instance taken his reference from Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, a catalogue upon which he drew repeatedly. The poem, when Warton did locate it, turned out to be of nearly a hundred folio pages—much too long for use in Percy's *Reliques*. It was indeed the unique MS. of *The Kingis Quair*. (Thus are discoveries made, even with a mere catalogue, if one has sufficient interest and imagination—and provided of course that one has a scholarly friend who will run down the leads.) Since Percy could not make use of *The Kingis Quair*, Warton was to be the first to write about it and to print any part of it some years later in the second volume of his *History of English Poetry* (1778). Warton's history is filled with dozens of references to Percy: if Percy took much from Warton, he contributed much.

In one signal instance Warton's examination of the book about which Percy inquired was inadequate. Percy was most anxious to locate the first edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* for the edition of that work which he was engaged in preparing. In 1762 he writes to Farmer thanking him for news of an edition dated 1557. "My own [copy]," he writes, "is in 1559: and that is seven year[s] older than any Copy I ever heard

¹⁷ Percy-Warton *Correspondence*, p. 56.

of before."¹⁸ Eventually, Percy was able to borrow a copy dated 1557 from Edward Capell. Capell's copy (in Hyder Rollins' nomenclature "C") is the second setting of the second edition, and this, it turns out, is the text which Percy followed in his own edition. The Bodleian Library, however, possesses the unique copy of the first edition, Rollins' "A", and Percy knew from Tanner's *Bibliotheca* that an edition dated 1557 was in the Bodleian. But Warton, upon whom apparently he relied to check the Bodleian copies, evidently did not make a very careful examination. Or perhaps both men simply concluded that there was only one edition published in 1557. By 1781 at least, when the third volume of his *History* had appeared, Warton knew from its colophon that the Bodleian copy was earlier than any other; but Percy's text had long before then been printed from "C".

In general, however, Warton proved himself an accurate consultant and a most accommodating friend. Percy's requests for transcripts and for the examination of books were numerous and sometimes extensive. Percy will write typically: "... you were so good as to promise me [a copy] of the *Letter to Sir Tho^s Osborne*. I am affraid you will think me too importunate. ... But the Printer of the *Duke of Bucking^m's Works* begin[s] to press upon my heels, and this I hope will serve as an Apology. ..."¹⁹ Since Bodleian books could not leave the library, there had to be much recourse to transcripts for which, of course, Percy paid. Warton in one of his letters to Percy informs him that his friend and neighbor, Edward Lye, has called by "with Your Compliments, and half a Guinea for the Transcript of Buckingham's Pamphlett."²⁰

Warton apparently remained uniformly good natured with Percy's requests. He once volunteered, on his next trip to Winchester, to "rummage the Chancellor's library; that is, the old Bishop's, whom you would not suspect to have been curious in our Way."²¹ And sometimes

¹⁸ Percy-Farmer *Correspondence*, p. 3 and the Appendix. In the second volume of *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Hyder E. Rollins, Harvard University Press, 1929), there is an extended discussion of the early editions. Percy's copy was of the third edition, Rollins' "D."

¹⁹ Percy-Warton *Correspondence*, pp. 34-35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.—The "old Bishop" was Benjamin Hoadley (1676-1761), in succession Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester. His books were sold at auction in 1807.

he has favors to ask of Percy in return, such as examining a will for him in the Prerogative Office, to be done on Percy's next trip to London.²²

In 1783 Percy warned Pinkerton not to be "surprised if Mr. Warton fatigued with (though fond of) literary researches, should be but a slow and desultory correspondent, even when he is most desirous of your acquaintance."²³ But the warning is to a younger man, and it refers to an older and perhaps wearier Warton. More to the point is Percy's observation to Shenstone in 1762: "M^r Warton . . . is of infinite service to me and spares no pain to procure me copy. I have received 5 or 6 packets full from him within this fortnight. Indeed he seems very fond of the work."²⁴ Percy was indeed very fortunate in his principal correspondents at both Oxford and Cambridge.

Though from time to time Percy read in the British Museum, he sought helpful friends there also and in the other London libraries. For example, he writes to Warton in 1763:

By one means or other I have access to all the curious Libraries about town, except one, and that is the Library of *Sion College*: unfortunately I have not one acquaintance among the London Clergy. Could you introduce me to the knowledge of any Gentleman, who has access to that Library, whom I could now and then trouble so far, as to procure it to be consulted for me; I should then indeed have all my desires compleated; but I know not how I can desire such a favour. And if it was not a gentleman of the antiquarian turn, who had besides a large portion of candour, he would be disgusted at the frivolous commissions I should sometimes charge him with.—Thus for example I want to have that Library examined at present for *Davison's Poems*. 12mo. I have an edition of this book printed in 1621. But the Catalog. of Sion Coll. Library mentions an edition printed in 1611.—I want to know whether the latter contains a *Carzonet* said to have been written by S^r Walter Raleigh the Night before his Execution intituled *the Lie* p. 100. beginning thus "*Goe soule the bodie's guest.*" &c. You will please to observe that sir Walter was executed in 1618. and therefore if the said song is found in the Edition of 1611. it cannot be his: yet D^r Birch has given it as such in his Edition of Raleigh. 8^{vo} 1751.—You see what frivolous Researches I have sometimes occasion to make, which in that case to me become important: and where could one hope to find an entire

²² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²³ Nichols, *Illustrations* VIII, 102.

²⁴ Hecht, *Percy und Shenstone*, p. 90.

stranger so indulgent, as to give up his time to pursuits, which must appear so unimportant?²⁵

Probably the London antiquarian who was most helpful was Thomas Astle, who became Keeper of the Records at the Tower and was the author of *The Origin and Progress of Writing*. Percy's letters to Astle through the early 1760's were printed many years ago in *Notes and Queries*;²⁶ the originals are now in the Folger Library and deserve a modern editing.

Though Astle carried out commissions for Percy at the London libraries, one of his kindest services was to present Percy with a copy of the 1559 *Tottel's Miscellany* (now in the possession of Mr. H. Bradley Martin of New York), and to help him to other rare books owned by private collectors. Percy's copy of the 1559 *Tottel's Miscellany* was indeed rare. Only one other copy has turned up since Percy's time.²⁷ Astle figures in other transactions that have to do with early and rare books. In October 1762, Percy writes to a friend that he has imperfect copies of the following books: *Cock Lorell's Bote* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the *Parlyament of Birds*, *Sir Isenbras*, *Virgilius*, and *A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the Four Elements*. Percy wants to borrow complete copies so as to transcribe the missing portions.²⁸ But what Percy, at the dawn of English studies, could now know was that the copies of *Cock Lorell's Bote*, *Sir Isenbras*, and *The New Interlude* at which he was then looking were unique.²⁹ The other books that he

²⁵ Percy-Warton *Correspondence*, pp. 80-81.—Percy's 1621 copy is the fourth edition of *A Poetical Rapsody* (STC 6376), first published in 1602. The 1611 edition (STC 6375) is the third. There are copies in the British Museum, Huntington, and Harvard, and a fragment in the Cambridge University Library. In the first edition of the *Reliques* (II, 289) Percy prints a note indicating that the 1611 edition was in "Cat. of Sion coll. library. [But that] This is either lost or mislaid."—Sir Walter Raleigh's "The Lie" does not occur in the 1602 edition but is printed in the 1608 and subsequent editions. The poem is to be found in Harleian MS. 6910 (written ca. 1596). In a note in the *Reliques* (II, 289) Percy correctly surmises that "unless this poem is an after-insertion in the 4th ed. it must have been written long before the death of Sir Walter."

²⁶ Fourth Series III, 22-27, 52-55.

²⁷ That in the British Museum: see Rollins' *Tottel's Miscellany* II, 20-23. Note that there is another edition dated 1559, the fourth edition, Rollins' "E." Two copies of this edition are known, the Horace Walpole copy, now in the Lilly collection, and the copy in the Pforzheimer Library.

²⁸ Percy-Farmer *Correspondence*, pp. 20-21.

²⁹ *Here endeth Cocke Lorelles bote*, W. de Worde [1510?], STC 5456. There is a

mentioned were only less rare: of *The Parliament of Birds* there is only one other copy, and of the *Virgilius*, only three, and these are copies of different date.³⁰ *Cock Lorell's Bote* and *The Parliament of Birds* were bound up with four other short pieces in a book which Astle had lent to Percy. Percy writes to Astle on 15 January 1763 to beg a "longer relieve for your old Fragment printed by *Wynkyn de Worde*" and hints that he would like to trade something of his own for this fragment.³¹ But as a subsequent letter on 25 January indicates, Astle had had to tell Percy that he did not own the volume. Percy goes on to say: "... whoever is the rightful owner, I presume you have interest enough with him to mediate a treaty between us for it: I would be glad to purchase it, if not at too great a price. To tell you the truth, as it was in a very shattered condition, and would probably have been intirely worn to pieces with a few times turning over, I have taken some pains to renew the leaves and binding. This makes me wish to retain the volume if I could do it upon terms satisfactory to yourself or friend; not else."³²

Subsequent letters from Percy to Astle do not make it clear whether Astle had earlier borrowed this collection from David Garrick or whether it was a collection which he had already committed himself to give to David Garrick. At any rate Percy in the first edition of his *Reliques* indicates that *Cock Lorell's Bote* and *Everyman*, another one of the other tracts included in the little collection, belonged to David Garrick. They are now in the Garrick Collection in the British Mu-

unique copy, imperfect, in the British Museum. It formerly belonged to David Garrick; see Percy-Farmer *Correspondence*, p. 20, n. 25.—*Here Begynneth the History of the Valyent Knyght, Syr Isenbras*, W. Copland [1550?], STC 14282. A unique copy of this edition, imperfect, "bound with the arms of David Garrick on the covers," is in the British Museum; Percy refers to the Garrick copy in *Reliques* (1765) III, xxi. A fragment of different date (STC 14281) is in the Bodleian.—*A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the iiiii Elements* [J. Rastell, 1525?], STC 20722. There is a unique copy in the Garrick Collection in the British Museum. Percy states in the *Reliques* (1765) I, 124n. that "Mr. Garrick has an imperfect copy."

³⁰ *The Parliament of Byrdes* [A. Kytson, 1550?], STC 19304. There is a copy in the Bodleian in addition to the imperfect copy in the British Museum.—*This Boke Treateth of the Lyfe of Virgil* [W. Copland? 1562?], STC 24829. There is a copy in the Garrick Collection in the British Museum, and copies of different date [1518?] in the Bodleian, Pierpont Morgan Library, and Cambridge University Library (this last a fragment of two leaves).

³¹ *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series III, 53.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 53.

seum, as are also *Sir Isenbras*, *Virgilius*, and Rastel's *Interlude of the Four Elements*. Percy was acquainted with Garrick as early as 1761—perhaps much earlier. It is odd, therefore, that he had to discover from Astle that *Cock Lorell's Bote* belonged to Garrick, for certainly he borrowed other books from Garrick directly. Garrick's collection indeed was one of Percy's most important sources for early English printed books.

Other private collectors were generous in letting Percy borrow their books and sometimes retain them for long periods of time. A notable instance was Percy's borrowing of the Earl of Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of the *Aeneid* (*Certain Bokes of Virgiles Aeneis turned into English meter by the right honorable lorde, Henry Earle of Surrey*, printed by Richard Tottell, 1557). Thomas Warton secured it for Percy from its owner, Richard Warner, the botanist and Shakespearean scholar. Warner's is one of four known copies.³³ Percy received it in 1763 and apparently did not return it until 1770. The delay, though it surely demonstrated the owner's indulgence, does not necessarily point to Percy's carelessness. After printing was stopped in 1767 on Percy's edition of Wyatt and Surrey, the edition hung fire and doubtless Percy kept hoping that the next months would allow him to complete the book. But Percy was to keep tinkering at this book for the next forty years until the warehouse fire in 1808³⁴ put a definite period to his hopes.

Perhaps the most signal of the borrowings that Percy was able to effect was that of the famous Bannatyne MS. from the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. It is proper to mention it here even though Percy did not receive it until 1773, a date outside the limits of this paper. Percy took care to borrow at the same time Sir David Dalrymple's interleaved copy of Ramsay's *Ever Green*, which he had corrected by the Bannatyne MS. He tells Sir David: "Either of my friend[s] Dr Blair or Mr Davidson, will probably be kind enough to undertake to convey it to me by some safe hand, at the approaching Meeting of Parliament. I know too well the value of such deposits not to be anxiously careful in returning them safely and punc-

³³ The STC (under 24798) locates copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and Princeton University Library. Ramage notes an additional copy at Dulwich College.

³⁴ On 8 Feb. 1808, fire destroyed the printing-office and warehouse of John Nichols (1745-1826): see his *Illustrations* VIII, xix. He wrote to Percy (*Illustrations* VI, 589) that he had sustained a loss of nearly ten thousand pounds beyond his insurance.

tually back, whenever lent me.”³⁵ In this interleaved *Ever Green*, Sir David had minutely corrected the texts of such poems as had been taken from the Bannatyne MS. by comparing them with the text of the MS. itself. What Percy found when he examined the MS. with his own eyes must have made him the happier that he could do it at leisure and unhurriedly, for he came upon some strange misreadings. Percy is tactful enough to write to Dalrymple: “I regret that I was not present when your Amanuensis transcribed your Copies for the Press, as I see many oversights in consequence of his not being sufficiently conversant with the old handwriting,”³⁶ though surely many of the misinterpretations were Sir David’s own responsibility. The following lines from “The Testament of Master Andrew Kennedy” will illustrate. The first four lines of this satiric macaronic poem read

I Master Andro Kennedy
Curro quando sum vocatus
Begotten with some Incuby,
Or with some Freir Infatuatus.

But the second line gave Sir David trouble. Ramsay had printed “A curio quando sum vocatus.” Sir David in an attempt to make sense corrected the line in his interleaved copy to read “A curiâ quando sum vocatus,” and when he came to print his own edition resorted to emendation: “A [matre] quando sum vocatus.” Percy restores the correct reading by telling Sir David, “Line 2^d is plainly Curro quando sum vocatus.”³⁷

Percy was indeed fortunate in his ability to borrow from the libraries and from individual collectors. The word *fortunate*, of course, begs the question. Much more than luck was involved: curiosity, energy, a nose for the likely places to look, were all involved, and other qualities as well. The ability to approach the owner with address and courtesy, and the ability to beget confidence in the safety of the book or MS. and the importance of the work to be done with it—these qualities were demanded too.

And yet was not sheer luck an important ingredient? What, for ex-

³⁵ *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes* (ed. A. F. Falconer, Baton Rouge, 1954), p. 126.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

ample, does one make of the following circumstances? Percy is writing to Warton in 1762 from his vicarage at Easton Maudit:

I have now before me two different copies of sir Bevis; both by Copland. The Colophon of one is
Imprinted at London, in Lothburye by Wylyyam Copland.

The Colophon of the other is
Imprynted at London in the vinetre upon the thre Crane wharfe, by William Coplande.

Neither of these editions has any date and each contains very material variations.—Hyde's Catalog of the Bodl. Library folio 1674, led me into the error about the edit. 1528. See that Catalog. art. *Bevis*.³⁸

Though, of course, he could not know it, Percy had before him on his table the two known copies of the 1565 Copland edition. The Lothbury copy is now in the British Museum; the Vintry copy, now a quarter of the globe away, in the Huntington Library. Since the British Museum copy is in the Garrick Collection, we may assume that Percy had borrowed it from Garrick. The text of *Sir Bevis* printed in the Vintry copy is identical with that bound up in what Percy refers to as the "Lincoln Book,"³⁹ a collection belonging to Lincoln Cathedral, which Percy had somehow borrowed through Richard Farmer. The "Lincoln Book" consisted of fourteen items. In the early nineteenth century it was sold to Dibdin, and subsequently *Bevis of Hampton* (STC 1988) went to Heber, to the Britwell and then to the Huntington Library.⁴⁰

But to recur to my original question: For a time I thought that it was indeed luck that allowed Percy to handle so many rare copies of our early books, books that are now extremely rare and even unique; and luck in some minimal sense surely was involved. But the basic answer is different and very simple. Percy saw a great many of these rare survivals because it was largely Percy's friends who rescued these copies from oblivion and preserved them for us. We now have them because

³⁸ Percy-Warton *Correspondence*, p. 57.—The title of Hyde's catalogue is *Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecæ Bodlejanæ in Academia Oxoniensi. Curâ & operâ Thomæ Hyde . . . Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674*.

³⁹ Percy-Farmer *Correspondence*, pp. 2, 4, and 10.

⁴⁰ See William A. Jackson, "The 'Lincolne Nosegay' Books," *Books and the Man* (Antiquarian Booksellers Association Annual), London, 1953, pp. 25-30.

they handled them. What they failed to find and preserve has disappeared forever. I overstate the matter, of course, but I do not overstate it much. The scholar who studies the Elizabethan and earlier periods owes a great debt to the eighteenth-century antiquary.

I have thus far stressed Percy's resourcefulness in getting access to books and MSS. But men were as important to Percy as books—not merely as instruments for procuring scholarly materials, but also for settling the innumerable questions that Percy as research scholar everywhere encountered—questions of date, of authorship, of authenticity. Here again Percy was most fortunate. In addition to the expert advice of Elizabethan scholars like Farmer and literary historians like Tom Warton, Percy had an excellent corps of advisers, many of them specialists in their field. Near at hand, only a few miles away in the village of Yardley Hastings, lived the Rev. Edward Lye (b. 1694), Percy's authority for Anglo-Saxon and the northern languages generally. In 1743 Lye had published the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* from the Bodleian MS. of the celebrated Junius. He was at work on his *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* when he died in 1767. He was a special help for Percy's edition of the Runic poetry and he helped with the glossaries for the *Reliques*.

The Scottish words to be glossed in the *Reliques* occasioned Percy special trouble. At the beginning he got help from his friend Benjamin Hutchinson, the Vicar of Kimbolton and chaplain to the Duke of Manchester. Later he was to get more accurate information from Sir David Dalrymple, who proved to be not only his authority for Scottish matters generally, but the source of a number of Percy's finest Scottish ballads, including "Edward" and "Sir Patrick Spens." Another important Scottish antiquary, whose counsel Percy sought, though his acquaintance with him began somewhat later, was George Paton.

For Welsh affairs, Percy's reliance was on Evan Evans. His acquaintance with Evans was not a matter of accident. Through friends who were Welsh or had Welsh connections, Percy tried to find an expert on the older Welsh literature. Evans was the man recommended, and the little, chronically alcoholic, bedraggled curate was, in terms of his scholarship, the ideal choice. Nobody knew more about Welsh literature or Welsh MSS. That Percy did not actually get much from Evans in the way of texts, or that Evans' own publications are disap-

pointingly meager does not alter the point. As their correspondence shows, Evans was invaluable to Percy in many ways. To give only one example: when the rage for the Ossianic poems was developing, Evans was there to put into proper perspective the whole problem of the preservation and transmission of Celtic literature. Evans observes that:

The public are obliged to M^r Mackpherson for his spirited translation . . . [But] What is said of [these poems having been] . . . handed down by tradition seems to me improbable, and if they are indeed as old as the fourth century, [the Scots] must have preserved their language surprizingly, to be able to understand such antiquated works. We have in our language some of the works of Talliessin, Aneirin and Llywarch hên, which lived in the middle of the sixth century . . . , which I ingenuously confess I do not understand.⁴¹

I have interpreted the title of this paper rather narrowly. Thus, I have not dealt with Percy's activities as a ballad collector as distinguished from his scholarly activities; nor have I spoken of the friends upon whom he relied in matters of taste and general literary advice. Such friends would, of course, include Johnson, Goldsmith, and Shenstone. Suffice it to say that Percy's correspondence was an extensive one, and that he became in some sense a clearing-house for scholars concerned with our earlier literature. He constituted a link between the Club, the Oxford antiquaries (some of whom, like the Wartons, were later to be members of the Club), and the Cambridge antiquaries. Through these latter he had some contact—though it was never close—with Cambridge men like Gray, Hurd, and Warburton. But he also linked up with the Scottish antiquaries, the London group centered around the British Museum, the Welsh, and later, the Irish antiquaries. If in this paper I have for the most part shown Percy seeking information, it ought to be said that he frequently contributed information and also transmitted, acting as a liaison man between one scholar and another.

An appropriate way to close this paper is to place myself in a posture to receive. The problem that I would like to pose is not a very important one, but it does serve to dramatize this particular country parson in his relation to the large world of English letters.

In the parish records for Easton Maudit for the year 1764, Percy

⁴¹ In a letter of 28 Aug. 1762: see *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Evan Evans* (ed. Aneirin Lewis, Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 36.

has used a tiny script to squeeze in a notation above the list of burials and baptisms. The notation reads: "Members, London Club visited here & attended Divine Service in Church. Johnson, Goldsmith, Sir J. Reynolds, Garrick S . . . ? also invited to the mannor. Guests Visited the [illegible] and the library." Now so far as I know this is the only reference to this event made anywhere by Percy. I know of no letter in which he mentions it, nor of any letter in which the guests named mention it. Most of Percy's Journal entries for the year 1764 are missing. In such entries as remain there is no reference to any such visit except that paid by Dr. Johnson to Easton Maudit from 25 June to 18 August. It is tempting to interpret the note in the parish records to mean that members of the Club decided to come up to Easton to join Johnson for a day in the country. But if so, it is curious that Percy's entries for the period of Johnson's visit do not mention the presence of any other members of the Club.

Unless the members of the Club did come down to spend the day during Johnson's visit with Percy, it may mean that Johnson came to Easton a second time during this year—either before 25 June or some time after 18 August. But I think it most improbable that Johnson made a second brief visit to Easton during this year. In any case, the assumption is that Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds, and the rest were all at Easton *together*. If the notation means anything, it has to mean this: "[they] were invited to the mannor," "Guests visited," etc. Besides, it is far more probable that for an outing, they took a coach and all went down into the country than that they should have visited Percy singly or in couples during the course of this one year of 1764.

When did Percy write the notation? Not in 1764. Several things tell against this: that it is crowded into the records and that the inscription is not in an early handwriting. The fact that "Sir Joshua Reynolds" is mentioned, and that Reynolds was not knighted until 1769 is a definite clue. The mention of Garrick's name indicates that the group of visitors was not limited to those who were members of the Club in 1764. Garrick was not elected until 1773. If Percy means by "Members, London Club" those who were original or *subsequent members* of the Club, then he must have been writing after 1773. In any case, I think it likely that he made the entry before 1780, the year in which he removed his family to Carlisle, but he was occasionally in

the neighborhood of Easton and could have added the entry later still.

How seriously are we to take the entry? Is it the garbled notation of a man who is confusing memories? I do not think so. My experience with Percy is quite otherwise. He was an observant man, a careful and methodical man. I find him usually very accurate as to the facts, and this notation—brief as it is—is highly circumstantial. I hope that the Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds, and Garrick experts will keep on the lookout for evidence, for it is very likely that the country jaunt did take place.

Harington's Metrical Paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms: Three Manuscript Versions

By KARL E. SCHMUTZLER

I

SIR John Harington's metrical paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms have long lain forgotten in the shadows of his *Orlando Furioso* (1591), with its "Preface, or rather a Briefe Apologie of Poetrie," and his more practical sanitary inventions.¹ Until recently, copies of them were known to exist in only two manuscripts, Egerton MS. 2711 (*E*), where they appear as a unit, and Douce MS. 361 (*D*), where they appear numerically in Harington's version of the complete Psalter; now, however, that a third manuscript (*JH*) in the English Department Library of The Ohio State University can be identified as another copy of Harington's complete Psalter, a clearer picture of the composition and relationship of the manuscripts can be established.²

Harington's metrical paraphrases of the Psalms are commonly thought to have been a product of those final quieter years of his life spent at Kelston with his wife and family.³ Here, "olde and infirme,"

¹ Only three of Harington's metrical paraphrases of the Psalms have been printed. Thomas Park prints Psalms 24, 112, and 137 from Douce MS. 361 in his edition of the *Nugae Antiquae*, II (London, 1804), 403-06; and Edward Farr, evidently using Park's edition, reprints Psalms 112 and 137 in his *Select Poetry Chiefly Devotional of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge: Parker Society, xxxvi, Pt. 1, 1845), pp. 115-16. Both men omit the concluding stanza of Psalm 137, probably out of kindness; it is an unfortunate example of Harington at his poetic worst.

² I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from *E*; the Keeper of Western MSS. of the Bodleian Library for permission to quote from *D*; and The Librarian of the English Department Library of The Ohio State University, for permission to quote from *JH*. Special thanks are due to Dr. Ruth Hughey for her assistance in this project. I have used photostats of *E* and a microfilm of *D* in The Ohio State University Library.

³ See *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 31-39 (hereafter referred to as McClure); Townsend Rich's *Harington & Ariosto: A Study in Elizabethan Verse Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 21-22; and Margaret G. Trotter's unpublished dissertation, "Sir John Harington's 'Orlando Furioso,' Books 1-v, Edited in Facsimile from the 1591 Edition" (Ohio State University, 1943), pp. 78-81.

he sought "a quiet harbour to laye up my bark"⁴ and busied himself with endeavors far removed from such earlier works as his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596), his epigrams, and his activities as a courtier under Elizabeth. He had, he said, bid farewell to his "sweet wanton Muse" that same year in which James I had ascended the throne of England.⁵ Now, with old age facing him, he attempted, as so many of his contemporaries before him had done, the task of turning David's complete Psalter into English verse.⁶

It seems clear, however, that some time earlier Harington had served his apprenticeship in metrical paraphrasing by attempting a version of the Seven Penitential Psalms (Nos. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143), a traditional grouping. They appear in Egerton MS. 2711, fols. 104r-07r, in his own handwriting, and were perhaps prompted by Wyatt's version of these Psalms, which are also in the same manuscript, fols. 86r-98v. Although Harington's versions are undated and their original inception unknown, his interest in metrical paraphrases is shown in a letter written to his relative Lucy, Countess of Bedford, on 19 December 1600, in which he enclosed copies of three paraphrases done by Mary, Countess of Pembroke. "I have sent you heere," he writes,

the devine, and trulie devine translation of three of Davids psalmes, donne by that Excellent Countesse, and in Poesie the mirrois of our Age. . . .⁷

⁴ See Letter 45, written in 1606 to Robert Markham, in McClure, pp. 121-26, reprinted from *Nugae Antiquae*, I (1804), 354-63.

⁵ See Epigram 427, "*The authors farewell to his Muse written at Eaton 1603 the 14th of April*," in McClure, pp. 321-22, reprinted from *Nugae Antiquae*, I (1804), 333-34.

⁶ For an alphabetical listing of over a hundred men and women who metrically paraphrased the Psalms in English between the approximate dates of 1500 and 1696, see Appendix 11 of my unpublished dissertation, "George Sandys' Paraphrases on the Psalms and the Tradition of Metrical Psalmody: An Annotated Edition of Fifty Selected Psalms, with Critical and Biographical Introduction" (Ohio State University, 1956).

⁷ Letter 19 in McClure, p. 87. McClure, p. 390, states that he has "printed from a transcript in the Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS. 538, vol. 43, f. 303 b." He continues:

The psalms are numbers 51, 104, and 137. (Petyt MS. 538, 43, f. 284). Among various memoranda Harington, in a list of "things sent to London the 29th of Jan: 1609" [1609-10], includes the "Countess of Pem: psalms: 2 copies." (British Museum Addit. MS. 27632, f. 30.)

See also Epigram 398, "*In prayse of two worthy Translations, made by two great Ladies*," McClure, p. 310, for another expression of Sir John's admiration for Lady Mary's paraphrases (Psalms 44-150) which, together with those of her brother (Psalms 1-43), were

The first specific reference to his own paraphrases, however, appears around 1612 when he sent a manuscript copy of some of his paraphrases to an unknown correspondent, whom he addresses as "your Grace," asking

. . . direction for publishing all or som of these selected psalms, which his Majestie hath due tytle too yf it may stand with his gracious pleasure to accept it.⁸

His health is bad, he says,

But I comfort my selfe that impairing in this world is preparing for another. Yet I desire ere I dy to have this revenge to see the work published to gods honor and the kings, having no thought of any privat ambition to my selfe, and doubting greatly least if I dy the rashnes of som, and zeale of gaine rather then of godlines, will precipitat the publishing of them, which I would as much as I could prevent by your graces good favour.⁹

He repeats his concern for the publication of his work, evidently still incomplete, and again pleads for royal patronage, in another letter written directly to James about the same time. In it he writes:

That your Majestie will be pleased to referr the examynacion of this worcke of the Psalms drawing so nere to an end to some of your learned chaplains now resyding abowt London, and the resolucion of all doubtfull places to my Lord Bishop of Elie. And whereas I fynde Master Aton your Majesties servant very judicious in this kynde and by whose advyce I must ingenuously acknowledge I have receaved some furtherance in this worck, yt may please your Majestie to joyne him also as well as for the review of the same as for the ordning of the convenyent publishing of yt to your Majesties best lykinge.¹⁰

That Harington felt confident he had done quite well, however, is evident in his concluding sentence:

first printed in 1823 as *The Psalms of David translated into divers and sundry kinds of Verse*. Ruth Hughey, "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents," *Library*, N.S. xvi (1935), 402, describes a folio manuscript containing the Sidneys' metrical version of the Psalms, which is now in the British Museum.

⁸ Letter 61 in McClure, pp. 142-43, printed, says McClure, p. 411, "from a rough draft in Harington's autograph, British Museum Addit. MS. 27632, f. 37."

⁹ McClure, p. 143.

¹⁰ Letter 62 in McClure, pp. 143-44, printed, says McClure, p. 411, "from a rough draft in Harington's autograph, British Museum Addit. MS. 27632, f. 45." The Bishop of Ely, as McClure points out, would have been Launcelot Andrewes, who "was translated from Chichester to Ely in 1609."

. . . I beseech your Majestie that my honest worke herein may fynde your gracious Acceptance, presuming to say this much that but few devynes in your Majesties dominions could so soone have accomlisht such a worcke of holly poetry, and fewer poetts could so faythfully have delyverde in smooth verse pure devinity.¹¹

By this time Harington had forgotten his earlier questioning of the advisability of paraphrasing the Psalms into verse:

. . . though I graunt the psalms and himns may and perhapps ought to be in verse, (as good linguists affirme Moses and Davids psalms to be originally,) yet I am almost of opinion, that one ought to abjure all Poetrie when he comes to Divinitie.¹²

Whatever the reasons, these metrical versions of the Psalms remained unpublished. Harington evidently completed the work shortly before his death, happy in the thought that he had "offended the cheife enemy of mankynd" and that others would use his metrical Psalms as "darts to drive away devills."¹³

II

As stated above, Harington's metrical paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms appear, either as a unit or numerically in the complete Psalter, in three manuscripts. In *E*,¹⁴ a quarto containing 120 folios, the seven Psalms appear on fols. 104r-07r in their earliest existing state. Since it seems logical that a writer trying his hand at metrical paraphrasing would first attempt a version of the traditional Penitentials, it is probable that the Egerton group was completed long prior to 1612, when Harington sent his nearly completed metrical Psalter to James for suggested revisions. That *E* is earlier than the two manuscript copies of Harington's complete Psalter is also clearly indicated by other factors: (1) the variant readings from *D* and *JH*

¹¹ McClure, pp. 143-44.

¹² "A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England," in *Nugae Antiquae*, 11 (1804), 202.

¹³ McClure, p. 143.

¹⁴ For a complete description of the contents of *E*, see the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII-MDCCCXIII* (London, 1894), pp. 459-60. See also Hughey, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of *E* and related Harington MSS.

show that revisions inserted in the text of the Egerton Psalms in the translator's hand were later incorporated by the copyists of the two manuscript Psalters; (2) the texts of Psalms 102 and 130, with their interlineations, deletions, and corrections, suggest an early stage of composition; and (3) both *D* and *JH*, with minor exceptions usually attributed to copyists' errors, agree again and again against the readings in *E*.

To illustrate this, three of Harington's paraphrases are printed below from *E* with the following minor changes. Harington's biblical verse designations, which he notes inconsistently, are omitted. Since the author's verse-spacing is often erratic, as is his use of apostrophes, I have normalized the transcription. In the notes following each Psalm, punctuation variants are omitted. Spelling variants are given only when they seem to affect the meter of the line or indicate the reliance of the *JH* copyist upon *D* or a now unknown manuscript derived from *D*.

[1]

Ps. 38

Oh doe not Lord in anger mee reprove
 nor chasten mee, in tymes of deep displeasure
 thy shafts so sticke in mee they will not move
 thy heavy hand hath wayght exceeding measure
 My flesh coroupts no sowndnes bydes thearin
 My bones want rest by reason of my sinne.

[5]

My strength doth fayle soch poysse to vndergoe
 the burden soch that vnder yt I shrinke
 so taynted ys my flesh from top to toe
 my festring sores, corrupted inward, stinke
 My state and staffe of all my strength ys broken
 and of sad greefs sad garments are a token

[10]

Though weaknes makes mee mute, smart makes mee rore
 my hart ys quyte opprest wth inward anguise
 thou seest my syghs o Lord that sent'st my sore
 myne eysyght fayles, my faynting lyms do languish
 My neighbors all and frends I hold so deer
 Look on aloofe my kyndred come not neer

[15]

And yet my foes as if all this suffiz'd not
doe seeke est soone to draw my vitall blood [20]

what plot, what practise is y^t: they devis'd not
yet like a man both deafe and dumbe I stood
as if that I their fowle reproches hard not
or y^t: to cleere or purge my selfe I car'd not
ffor still I hop't in mids of all this ill [25]

that of this question god would make decision
nor let my foes be thus insulting still
nor for my plagues to have mee in derision
I see my sores and know thy iustice sent them
I will confesse my sinns & so repent them. [30]

And though my foes confirme their wicked faction
vngratefully for kyndnes rendring harme
and though they seeke by slander and detraction
to weaken my good name and mee dis(a^rame)arme
yet Lord thou art my strength & succour cheife [35]
make haste then I thee pray to my releife.

E, fols. 104v-05r; *D*, fols. 22v-23r; *JH*, fols. 31r-32r. The Latin heading, "Domine ne in furore," appears in *D* and *JH*. In *D*, the Psalm is designated a "Morninge prayr" in the left margin after lines one and two of the text.

- 2 tymes] time *D, JH*
5 bydes] is *D, JH*
6 want] lack *D, JH*
7 soch poyse] this waight *D, JH*
12 greefs] greife *JH*
15 my sore] y^e sore *D, JH*
16 myne] my *D, JH*
19 all this] all *JH* *Evidently copyist's error of omission*
24 or purge] & purge *D, JH*
34 dis(a^rame)arme] disarme *D, JH*

[2]

Psal: 102.

Lord lend thine eare vnto my pray'r & crying
nor hide thy face when hasty helpe I need
I waste as smoke, my bones within are frying
my stomack faynts, I ev'n forget to feed

- my hart is wither'd lik: a fading weed [5]
 my gutts so gryp'd with greivance of my grones
 that ev'n my skinn doth cleave vnto my bones.
 As sparrows skar'd sitt lurking in the thatch
 as desert Pellican or lothed Owle
 with scorned tune doe keepe their nightly watch [10]
 so I by day do wake, by nyght doe howle
 my foes do tawnt mee with reproaches fowle
 and for my food my bread is earth & ashes
 and teares the drinke my cupp both fills & washes.
 So heavie lies on mee thine Indignation [15]
 that lift's mee vp to cast mee lower downe
 as grasse new mowne doth fade; in such a fashion
 I shadow-like doe vanish with thy frowne
 by loe eternitie thy(n) Yeares doth crowne
 of Salem (lord) then thinke thy holy citie [20]
 high tyme it is thou take on Sion pitie
 ffor why thy servants see with greife & shame
 her monuments thus broken and defac't
 but tyme will come y^t: heath'n shall feeare thy name
 y^t: earthly kings to honor thee shall haste [25]
 and Sion shall with glory new bee grac't
 when god shall bend his eare to poore mens cries
 and shall their iust petitions not despise.
 This shall be wrote, and kept in safe record
 that children after borne not yet alive [30]
 may praise thy name; for thow in heav'n o lord
 didst ev'n the lowly things on earth contrive
 there thou the bound dost free, y^e: damnd reprove
 that nations & their kings y^t heare this storie
 may meete at Sion there to give thee glorie [35]
 But thou hast quayld my strength amid my waies
 cut off my yeares & broke my vitall line
 oh doe not cu[t m]ee off at halfe my daies
 though none can last eternall like to thine
 for thow in heav'n created'st ev'rie signe [40]
 thow laid'st of earth y^e: nethermost foundations
 thy selfe outlasting all their generations

The maker dures, but perish shall y^e: creatures
as vestures old y^t: men doe turne and change
so shalt thou change y^e heav'ns & all their features [45]
and make them new; o works, o worker strange
thy selfe alone subiected to noo change
but they that in thy service take delight
shall see their seed establisht in thy sight.

E, fol. 106r, v; *D*, fols. 60v-61v; *JH*, fols. 77r-78r. The Latin heading, "Domine exaudi," appears in *D* and *JH*. In *D*, the Psalm is designated a "Morning prayr" in the right margin opposite lines one and two of the text. In *E*, line 25 was evidently inserted between lines 24 and 26 after the poem was copied by Sir John.

5 wither'd] withred *D, JH*
16 lift's] liftes *D*
19 thy(n)] thy *D, JH*
24 will] shall *D, JH*
25 y^t: earthly kings to honor thee shall haste] and Sion shall with glory new
be grac't *D, JH*
26 and Sion shall with glory new be grac't] that Earthlie kinges to honor
thee shall haste *D, JH*
31 may] <my>may *D Copyist's error*
33 bound] bond *D, JH*
38 cu[t m]ee] cutt me *D, JH* *Ink smear obscures part of two words in E*
40 ev'rie] everie *D*

[3]

Psal: 130.

ffrom horror huge of darke despay'r & deepe
my soule hath cride with seas of sinn surrownded
oh heare y^e: voice y^t: in thine eare hath sownded
both heere, and heed, and seeme not Lord asleepe
yf thou of sinns a register doe keepe [5]
all flesh and blood for ever were confownded
but thou o Lord hast grace & mercie store
which makes vs feare thee much but love thee more

Then thou my soule abide in expectation
for on his word I sett my rest and stay [10]

as they y^t: watch by night expect the day
 O Israell bee this thy consolation
 ⟨his grace is great then feare wee no damⁿacōn⟩
 his mercies rich thy ransom deere can pay
 his grace is great then feare wee no ⟨da——on⟩damnacōn [15]
 Then Israell trust in god, for only hee
 redeems thee from thy sinns & sets thee free./

E, fol. 106r; *D*, fol. 82r,v; *JH*, fol. 105r,v. The Latin heading, "De profundis," appears in *D* and *JH*.

- 13 ⟨his grace is great then feare wee no damⁿacōn⟩] Omitted *D*, *JH*
 14 his mercies rich thy ransom deere can pay] his grace is great redeeming
 from damnation *D*, *JH*
 15 his grace is great then feare wee no ⟨da——on⟩damnacōn] his mercy
 ritche thie ransome deare can pay *D*, *JH*
 17 redeems] can clense *D*, *JH*

III

The earliest of the two complete metrical Psalters, *D*, is now in the Bodleian and is written in what appears to be the early seventeenth-century hand of a professional copyist. According to Falconer Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, iv (Oxford: 1897), 605, the manuscript measures 12¾ x 8 inches, contains iv + 96 folios, and bears the title, "The Psalmes putt into verse by S^r John Harrington." The Psalms appear on fols. 1r-96r, and frequent designations ("1. day," "2. day," "3. day," etc.), appearing at the top of the folios, together with references to certain Psalms as morning and evening prayers, suggest that Harrington considered his complete Psalter as a metrical version of the prose Psalter (based on the translation of the Great Bible) contained in *The Book of Common Prayer*. The one indication of provenance on the manuscript is the armorial bookplate of the Earl of Essex, dated 1701.

The copy-text which the copyist of *D* followed no longer appears to be extant. It is possible, however, that it was Harrington's rough draft of his complete metrical version, perhaps the very manuscript sent to James about 1612, and contained his own inserted revisions together with those suggested by James or Launcelot Andrewes. Per-

haps Harington had a copy made of this manuscript and the finished product is what today is known as *D. D.*, however, also contains a great many minor corrections in a hand that bears a marked resemblance to Harington's. Thus, it is possible that when the professional copyist had completed his work, the author again went through the entire manuscript, making minor revisions that had earlier escaped his eye.

The second extant manuscript copy of Harington's complete metrical Psalter (*JH*) is in the English Department Library of The Ohio State University. Beautifully written in an unknown early seventeenth-century secretary hand, the manuscript contains 122 folios, consisting of 233 written pages, with four blank pages at the beginning and seven at the end. It is a small 4vo, 19½ x 15½ centimeters, and is bound in the original limp vellum. There are only two indications of provenance: the signature of James Harington is written on the upper right hand corner of fol. 2r; and the signature of Bickford-Dunland, in a nineteenth-century hand, in the same position on fol. 3r. Immediately above the heading of Psalm 1 on fol. 3r appears the title: "King Davids Psalmes." Since this manuscript has not previously been identified or catalogued, its contents are described below in detail.

With the exception of the signatures noted above, fols. 1r-2v are blank. Fols. 3r-23v contain, in correct order, the texts of Psalms 1 through 29, with the title of "Psal:30:" and its Latin heading, "Exaltabo te" appearing on the bottom of fol. 23v. Then follow, incorrectly bound in on fols. 24r-28v, the texts of Psalms 33 through the first nine stanzas of Psalm 38. Fols. 29r-30v contain the texts of Psalms 30, 31, and 32. Then, on fol. 31r appear the last three stanzas of Psalm 37, and the manuscript continues correctly with Psalm 38 and remains consistently in order until fol. 67v. The bottom of this folio contains only the first stanza and two lines of a second stanza of Psalm 85. The following folio, 68r, contains the last three stanzas of Psalm 88 and the beginning of Psalm 89. Since the manuscript is normally bound in groups of eight leaves and fols. 67 and 68 consist of a single sheet folded once, it appears that four leaves of the original manuscript are missing; and it is probable that these leaves contained the end of Psalm 85, the complete texts of Psalms 86 and 87, and the

beginning of Psalm 88. Psalms 89 through 150 are contained complete and in correct order on fols. 68r-119r, and the manuscript ends with seven blank pages on fols. 119v-22v. With the exception of fol. 2, which has two-thirds of its bottom portion torn away, all remaining folios are intact. As in *D*, certain Psalms are designated as morning and evening prayers and are preceded by Latin headings.

It seems likely, from the beautifully even handwriting, that the manuscript was the work of a professional copyist, and it is possible, on the basis of internal evidence, to conjecture that his copy-text was *D* or a now unknown manuscript derived from *D*. To determine this, a test collation was made of selected Psalms (apart from the Penitentials) which contained corrected reading in the *D*, with parallel passages in the *JH*. In each case where the *D* copyist has entered a corrected reading above a crossed-out word, the *JH* copyist has consistently taken the corrected reading and incorporated it into his text as the following examples indicate:

Psalm 15: *D*, fol. 84; *JH*, fol. 13r. Stanza 3, line 2:

that

D But . . . folke <whoe> god doe feare

JH But . . . folke y^t god do feare

Psalm 19: *D*, fol. 11r; *JH*, fols. 16v-17r. Stanza 3, lines 1-4:

D ffrom East to west, from west to east
 hee daily postes his iourney greate
 no tree nor plant no man or beast
 but is pertaker of his <ffeast> heate

JH ffrom East, to west, from west to East,
 hee dailie posts his Iournie great
 No Tree nor plant no man or beast
 But is pertaker of his his [*sic*] heate

D, fol. 11v; *JH*, fol. 17r. Stanza 5, line 2:

or

D of pretious iems <and> coyned money

JH of pretious Gems or coyned mony

Psalm 68: *D*, fol. 39v; *JH*, fol. 52v. Stanza 4, line 4:

the

D Wee share ⟨ d ⟩ spoyle we chase the conquer'd king

JH We share y^e spoyle wee chace y^e conquerd king

D, fol. 39v; *JH*, fol. 53r. Stanza 6, line 3:

D corps du gard: such *Courtes of guard* inclose his ritch pavillions
[*corps du gard* inserted in left margin]

JH such corps du gard enclose his ritch pavillions

Psalm 69: *D*, fol. 40v; *JH*, fol. 54r. Stanza 3, line 5:

brethren

D a stranger to my ⟨children⟩ I was grown

JH a straunger to my brethren I was grown

Psalm 104: *D*, fol. 63r; *JH*, fol. 80r. Stanza 5, line 6:

D In stately firrs the *storkes doe build them nest Curlews*
[*Curlews* inserted in right margin]

JH in stately firrs y^e Curlews do build them nest

Psalm 118: *D*, fol. 73v; *JH*, fol. 93v. Stanza 5, line 6:

that

D but praise my God ⟨whoe⟩ me hath purged

JH but praise my God that mee hath purged

Psalm 119: *D*, fol. 74r; *JH*, fol. 94r. Stanza 1, line 6:

workes

D his wordes will mend their ⟨hartes⟩ their hartes releeve

JH His words will mend their works, their harts releeve

Psalm 140: *D*, fol. 87r; *JH*, fol. 111v. Stanza 3, line 1:

weart

D Thow ⟨art⟩ my strength in most distresse

JH Thow weart my strength in most distresse

Pirated Editions of Schoolcraft's *Oneóta*

By JOHN FINLEY FREEMAN

HENRY Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864) is remembered today as an explorer and as a compiler of Indian lore. His bibliographers are frequently perplexed by different titles and editions of his works,¹ for Schoolcraft spent his later years editing and revising his earlier publications. Commentators correctly suspect Schoolcraft of opportunism in this revision of old materials for a new market,² but no such motive accounts for the eleven variant editions and five different titles of *Oneóta* appearing from 1844 to 1853. This miscellany of travel and Indian lore, after three appearances under its original title, was pirated by booksellers who printed seven different editions under four new titles.³

Oneóta, or the Red Race of America appeared in eight consecutive issues from August 1844 until early 1845 and was the first Schoolcraft magazine to appear in print. His manuscript magazines, circulated among friends since 1809, are the best-known antecedents to *Oneóta*.⁴ Less known are projected printed magazines. Schoolcraft and Samuel L. Conant of New York entered into an agreement in 1825 to publish a magazine to be called *Indian Annals* with a format "in the same style as the *North American Review*. . . ."⁵ Neither this magazine nor the contemplated *Alcic Magazine* of 1841 was ever published.⁶

¹ The most complete published bibliography is "A Bibliography of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft" in Chase S. Osborn and Stellanova Osborn, *Schoolcraft—Longfellow—Hiawatha* (Lancaster, Pa.: Jacques Cattell Press, 1942), pp. 624-53. This list adds to Sabin. For a discussion of titles and editions, see A. Irving Hallowell, "Concordance of Ojibwa Narratives in the Published Works of Henry R. Schoolcraft," *Journal of American Folklore* 59: 136-53 (1946).

² Mentor L. Williams ed., *Schoolcraft's Indian Legends* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1956), p. xviii; Stith Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," *PMLA* 37: 128-40 (1922).

³ See Checklist at end for description of variant editions.

⁴ Osborn and Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-46; William V. Kinitz, "Schoolcraft's Manuscript Magazines," *PBSA* 35: 151-54 (1941).

⁵ Agreement of Schoolcraft and Conant, 19 Mar. 1825, Schoolcraft Papers, Library of Congress; HRS, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years among the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), p. 207.

⁶ Broadsheet, 6 July 1841, Schoolcraft Papers. There exists in the Schoolcraft Papers

Agreement for serial publication of *Oneóta* was made by Schoolcraft with Burgess & Stringer of New York in 1844.⁷

I intended (said Schoolcraft) to have published several series of this work, in twelve numbers each, each series making a volume, and the whole designed to present my views on the actual state of the Indian tribes.⁸

The magazine failed, however, in 1844 and 1845.

The printer of the last four numbers, S. W. Benedict (Thomas B. Smith had printed the first), took possession of the plates and arranged with Schoolcraft for an edition of all eight issues to appear in book form in 1845. A table of contents for the miscellany was made up, and Schoolcraft wrote a preface. Wiley and Putnam were the publishers; their New York and London imprint presumably protected Schoolcraft from piracy in England, but lack of sales at the time made such protection unnecessary.

By 1847, when Benedict attempted to sell off the remainder of *Oneóta*, Schoolcraft's publishing fortunes had taken a turn for the better. Schoolcraft had been commissioned in 1845 to prepare a census of the Indian tribes living in New York State. His report appeared in 1846 under two titles: *Report of Mr. Schoolcraft* and *Notes on the Iroquois*. The demand for this official report—to which Schoolcraft had annexed several hundred pages of miscellaneous material—encouraged him to issue an even larger popular work using the title *Notes on the Iroquois* in 1847. This was a splendid edition with colored plates.⁹

The 1847 "edition" of *Oneóta* moved slowly, however, so Benedict asked Schoolcraft for a new title in the hope that such a change

a broadside for a similarly titled venture, 22 Oct. 1826, promising material on Indian history, languages, customs, biography, tales, poetry, agency abstracts, etc., to be published twice yearly.

⁷ Agreement of Schoolcraft and Burgess & Stringer, 13 Sept. 1844, Schoolcraft Papers. Six hundred copies were printed in August, evidently to test the demand for the magazine.

⁸ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 3 Oct. 1851, *Literary World* IX, 371 (8 Nov. 1851).

⁹ *Report of Mr. Schoolcraft, to the Secretary of State Transmitting the Census Returns in Relation to the Indians*, Senate Doc., No. 24 (Albany, N. Y., 1846); *Notes on the Iroquois, or, Contributions to the Statistics, Aboriginal History, Antiquities and General Ethnology of Western New York* (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1846), 285 pp.; and *Notes on the Iroquois, or, Contributions to American History, Antiquities, and General Ethnology* (Albany, N. Y.: Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1847), 498 pp.

would promote sales. Schoolcraft had defended the title strongly in his 1845 preface, but with more important things to worry about in 1847 (he had been appointed by the government to prepare a report on the Indian Tribes of the United States similar to that which he had made for New York State), he dismissed Benedict with the suggestion, "The Indian and his Wigwam."¹⁰

While Schoolcraft was busy in Washington, Benedict prepared a new edition of *Oneöta*. Using the original stereotype plates, he omitted ninety-six pages, rearranged the order of the others, added two frontispiece engravings and a new title-page; and, with William H. Graham as publisher, *The Red Race of America* was ready for the trade. In 1848 Graham published still another edition on cheaper paper, without engravings, and with two stereotype plates altered. A new title-page was prepared, resembling that of *Oneöta*. The book was now called *The Indian in his Wigwam, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America*. This edition was also marketed by bookseller friends of Graham—Dewitt and Davenport in New York, James C. Derby of Auburn, New York, and his brother George H. Derby of Buffalo. The printing and binding was done in New York, although the name of the printer is not given.¹¹

Schoolcraft had been too busy circularizing scholars, Indian agents, and missionaries for data to use in his government study, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (the first volume appeared early in 1851) to notice these manipulations.¹² When, in August 1851, he received from a friend a volume published by George H. Derby and Company called *The American Indians, Their History, Condition and Prospects. . . . By Henry R. Schoolcraft*, he was doubly disturbed.¹³ The title was uncomfortably close to that of his recently published

¹⁰ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 9 Aug. 1851, *Literary World* IX, 170 (30 Aug. 1851). Even at this time Schoolcraft had other plans for the *Oneöta* material. In a letter of 21 Aug. 1847 to an unknown recipient, possibly Erastus H. Pease, Schoolcraft sketched a two-volume "American Miscellany," which would include as its first volume his *Algic Researches* (1839), *Oneöta*, and the *Notes on the Iroquois* (Schoolcraft Papers).

¹¹ See Checklist.

¹² (Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851-57). Changes of title and variant editions are described in Sabin and in Osborn and Osborn, *op. cit.*

¹³ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 9 Aug. 1851.

government volume; the text was that of *Oneóta*, and he had promised the refusal rights for a new edition of that work to Lippincott, Grambo & Co., in a project calling for revised editions of a number of his earlier works once his *Personal Memoirs* were printed.¹⁴

Enraged, Schoolcraft wrote the editors of the *Literary World*.¹⁵ *The American Indians*, which bore Derby's "copyright," was billed as a "New Revised Edition," but outside of the addition of a few engravings, two of which had been pirated from the 1847 *Notes on the Iroquois*, and an appendix of captivity narratives, not by Schoolcraft, the only revision had been in the title.¹⁶ This change having been made without Schoolcraft's knowledge or consent constituted "a surreptitious effort to deprive the author of the just rewards of his labors."¹⁷ Furthermore, *Oneóta* as prepared by Schoolcraft had been only a fragment, and with the recent appearance of *Historical and Statistical Information*, Derby's publication "with such a false title at this time, appears intended to take the public by surprise, as if it were an epitome of this work."¹⁸

The Duyckinck brothers, champions of better copyright protection, were apparently eager to publish Schoolcraft's letter in their journal, since copyright appeared to be the issue in the case. But the reply of George H. Derby took the attention away from the copyright question. Derby presented in his letter of 3 September 1851 two hasty affidavits, dated the preceding day.¹⁹ One was from William H. Graham, stating that he had sold to Derby in the preceding April the "stereotype plates and copyright of Schoolcraft's 'Indian in his Wigwam' of which I was the lawful owner."²⁰ The other statement was made by two Buffalo booksellers who affirmed that *The American In-*

¹⁴ Agreement of HRS with Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 6 Dec. 1850, Schoolcraft Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

¹⁵ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 9 Aug. 1851.

¹⁶ The pirated engravings were the colored reproductions from *Notes on the Iroquois*, "King Hendrick," the frontispiece, and "Po-ca-hon-tas," facing p. 425, which appear in *The American Indians* as the frontispiece and facing p. 224. Cf. *Western Scenes . . .*, Checklist.

¹⁷ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 9 Aug. 1851.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ George H. Derby to editors of *Literary World*, 3 Sept. 1851, *Literary World* 1x, 212 (13 Sept. 1851).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

dian used the same plates as *The Indian in his Wigwam* except for the clearly labelled appendix, and that in their opinion, "the title 'American Indians' &c, is more appropriate than 'Indian in his Wigwam' &c, for the *matter which makes up the book*."²¹ Derby, after charging that Schoolcraft was irritated only because he himself planned to edit and republish this material and sell it as new work, stated in defense of the change of title that the new name had been so effective that two thousand copies had been distributed in two months, while the earlier Derby edition of *The Indian in his Wigwam* had sold only one thousand copies in two years. In light of this success, Derby agreed to remove the offensive "new revised edition" and thought he would substitute "new and *improved* edition."²²

With choice of title now the issue, the embarrassed Duyckincks delayed printing Schoolcraft's reply of 3 October until 8 November. Schoolcraft was plainly nettled by Derby's publishing success. It was not enough that Derby had stolen his work, for "to make the injury to me the more striking, he has affixed to this fragment . . . a new title that in point of literary temerity might put anyone to blush. . . ."²³ Even the failure of *Oneóta* came "it would now seem, from a non-appreciation of my title than from any other cause."²⁴ The very word *title* crept into his discussion of the copyright issue: "I have endeavored to learn the facts by which a chain of legal title, or any title whatever, could be traced from me. . . ."²⁵

One reason for this shift of emphasis was that Schoolcraft could not prove he held a copyright. In its 1845 and 1847 editions, *Oneóta*

²¹ *Ibid.*, their ital.

²² *Ibid.*, his ital. Schoolcraft's wife and amanuensis, Mary Howard Schoolcraft, complained in a draft of a letter to an unknown recipient, 13 Oct. 1851, that: "Derby has the temerity to boast that since he has given the book *this* new title, the demand for it has been so great he can scarcely supply the market. . . . *Oneóta* is altogether fragmentary, and never aspired to the dignity of history or ethnology. Therefore to palm off such a work as Mr. Schoolcraft's history of the American Indians would curtail his reputation. Besides this surreptitious book is sold for \$2.50 per volume, while the large & elaborately illustrated national work, cannot be got at less than \$15, so that the amazing energy and tact of Derby has taken the wind out of Lippincott's much more unwieldy sails & we in consequence have not made a farthing from our edition of the Grand National History" (Schoolcraft Papers).

²³ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 3 Oct. 1851, *Literary World* ix, 371-72 (8 Nov. 1851).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

bore the usual registration of copyright to Schoolcraft,²⁶ but friends in New York were unable to locate any court record of this.²⁷ Printings of *Red Race of America* and *Indian in his Wigwam* show no registration, so George Derby's copyright issued in 1851 was probably the only valid one. This Schoolcraft never admitted publicly; he said only that he had never sold Derby or anyone else his copyright, which was true, if ambiguous.²⁸ Certainly Derby never could have bought a copyright from Graham.

To fortify his position with the readers of the *Literary World*, Schoolcraft persuaded Washington Irving to write "his opinions on the alteration of title, by publishers without the consent of authors, and of the inefficacious character of the existing copyright law. . . ."²⁹ Irving's opinion was, of course, welcome to Duyckinck, so the letter was printed. Said Irving:

The treatment of which you complain, in having the titles of your work altered and misapplied by certain book jobbers, is undoubtedly a flagrant wrong. Even where a man has purchased the copyright of a work, I do not consider that he has a right to alter that work without the privity and consent of the author. The reputation of an author depends upon his writings, and may be injured, if not destroyed by their mutilation and perversion. . . . It is to be hoped, however, that a better time is coming when the property of an author in the creation of his brain, will be perfectly recognized and thoroughly secured by legal enactments and universal usage: and that, not for a sordid term of years, but *for ever*; not partially and conditionally, but absolutely and entirely. . . .³⁰

George H. Derby died of Asiatic cholera in February 1852,³¹ but in 1853 his brother James arranged a new edition of *The American Indian* to be called *Western Scenes and Reminiscences: Together with Thrilling Legends and Traditions of the Red Men of the Forest*.³² Mindful of

²⁶ No copyright registration appears in the 1844-45 serial edition. See Checklist.

²⁷ Seth Eastman to Schoolcraft, 16 Oct. 1851, Schoolcraft Papers; Charles Lanman to Seth Eastman, 27 Oct. 1851, Schoolcraft Papers.

²⁸ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 3 Oct. 1851.

²⁹ Schoolcraft to editors of *Literary World*, 25 Oct. 1851, *Literary World* 1x, 389 (15 Nov. 1851).

³⁰ Irving to Schoolcraft, 20 Oct. 1851, *Literary World* 1x, 389 (15 Nov. 1851).

³¹ James C. Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors, Books, and Publishers* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1884), pp. 33, 46.

³² (Auburn, N. Y.: Derby and Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton & Mulligan, 1853). Orton took over George Derby's business in Buffalo, and James Derby joined him in partnership in 1852.

the Irving letter, Derby had asked Schoolcraft for his approval of the change of title; the latter refused to have anything to do with the edition, terming it "a very unnecessary revival of an offense . . . that I had hoped had died with George H. Derby."³³ James Derby bowed to Schoolcraft's wishes: *Western Scenes and Reminiscences* appears anonymously.³⁴

In 1856 Schoolcraft edited and reprinted the bulk of the Indian legends found in his *Algie Researches* (1839), together with several printed in *Oneôta*. He chose as his title, *The Myth of Hiawatha*. Since Longfellow had used Schoolcraft's legends as the basis for his epic the preceding year (1855), it was perhaps only fair that Schoolcraft profit from the use of Longfellow's title. He did take the precaution of dedicating his volume to Longfellow, and while praising the efforts of the poet, Schoolcraft made it clear for all to see that he was the source of "these legends and traditions."³⁵ While thus confusing future folklorists on whether he knew the difference between the legendary Chippewa Manabozho and the historical Iroquois Hiawatha,³⁶ he did show that he had learned something of the tricks of "certain book jobbers."

A Checklist of Editions of Schoolcraft's Oneôta

1. *Oneôta, or the Red Race of America: Their History, Traditions, Customs, Poetry, Picture-Writing, &c., in Extracts from Notes, Journals, and Other Unpublished Writings*. (New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1844-45.) 512 pp.

³³ Schoolcraft to James Derby, 19 Jan. 1853, Schoolcraft Papers.

³⁴ Sabin lists this edition as anonymous, as does the Library of Congress card. Osborn and Osborn, *op. cit.*, 639-40, and Hallowell, *op. cit.*, 153, do not record this. The three copies I have seen are anonymous.

³⁵ *Algie Researches* . . . (New York: Harper & Bros., 1839), 2 vols.; *The Myth of Hiawatha, and Other Oral Legends, Mythologic and Allegoric, of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.; London: Trübner & Co., 1856). Longfellow gave Schoolcraft credit as the source of the legends in introducing his epic as well as devoting the first few lines of the poem to the ethnologist. See Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-19; Osborn and Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-294.

³⁶ This controversy has persisted despite the clear statement of Longfellow in his journal, "Work at 'Manabozho'; or, as I think I shall call it, 'Hiawatha'—that being another name for the same personage." (28 June 1854). The original MS. of Longfellow's poem bears the crossed-out title *Manabozho*. The confusion was Longfellow's; Schoolcraft perpetuated it for the sake of a good title. See Williams, *op. cit.*, "Introduction."

Irregularly issued as a serial in eight paper covered numbers of 64 pp. Thomas B. Smith printed the first four numbers; S. M. Benedict & Co., the last four. On the back of the original contract there is a notation which gives the dates and number of copies printed: No. 1, 10 Aug. 1844, 600 copies and Sept. 1844, 500 copies; No. 2, 8 Oct. 1844, 1,000 copies; No. 3, 5 Dec. 1844, 1,000 copies; No. 4, 5 Dec. 1844, 1,000 copies; No. 5, Jan. 1845, 500 copies. Since the agreement with S. M. Benedict is dated 18 Dec. 1844, and since Schoolcraft dated his preface to the 1845 printing as a book 1 June 1845, Nos. 5-8 probably appeared during the first four months of 1845. No copyright registration.

Harvard College Library has No. 1; University of Pennsylvania Museum has Nos. 1-8 bound together as a book.³⁷

- IIa. *Oneóta, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America. From Original Notes and Manuscripts.* (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, 1845.) i-vi, 5-512 pp.

The stereotype plates of 1 are printed in order with the addition of an index (which does not always agree with the pagination) and a two-page preface by HRS. Copyright registration to HRS, 1845.

Harvard College Library.

- IIb. *Oneóta. . . .* (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, 1847.) i-vi, 5-512 pp.

Only difference from IIa is date on title-page.

Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

- IIIa. *The Red Race of America.* (New York: Wm. H. Graham, 1847.) 416 pp.

The "Benedict" edition. The stereotype plates of 11 are rearranged and renumbered; 96 pages are omitted, a frontispiece and 2 illustrative plates are added. No copyright registration.

Harvard College Library.

- IIIb. *The Red Race of America.* (New York: Wm. H. Graham, 1847.) 416 pp.

A transitional edition, identical with preceding except for filler on page 9 ("Indian Languages").

New York State Library.

- IVa. *The Indian in His Wigwam, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America. From Original Notes and Manuscripts.* (New York: W. H. Graham, 1848.) 416 pp.

³⁷ This is not a census of copies; the author cites only those copies which he has examined.

The "Graham" edition. Printed on cheaper paper without illustrative plates or frontispiece. Otherwise identical with iii except for omission of filler on page 9 ("Indian Languages") and page 22 ("Languages of Mexico"). No copyright registration.

Harvard College Library.

- ivb. *The Indian in His Wigwam*. . . (Buffalo: Derby & Hewson; Auburn: Derby, Miller & Co., 1848.) 416 pp.

Identical with iva except for publishers.

Harvard College Library.

- ivc. *The Indian in His Wigwam*. . . (New York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1848.) 416 pp.

Same as iva except for publishers.

Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

- v. *The American Indians*. . . (Auburn, 1850.)

Listed in *Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* (London, 1859) from which it is apparently copied in Sabin 77837, this edition may never have existed. I can discover no extant copies or listings in 19th-century catalogues. Although the Library of Congress Union Catalogue shows that copies of this edition were in the Lowell City Library and the Boston Athenæum, the staff at each institution inform me that they have never had any but the 1851 edition.

- via. *The American Indians. Their History, Condition and Prospects, from Original Notes and Manuscripts. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. Together with an Appendix, Containing Thrilling Narratives, Daring Exploits, etc., etc. New Revised Edition.* (Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co., 1851.) 495 pp.

To the 416 stereotype plates of the "Graham" edition are added 80 odd pages of miscellaneous captivity narratives as well as the following illustrative plates: King Hendrick, front.; Dacotah Woman and Child, p. 32; Indian Maiden, p. 97; Saukie and Fox Indians, p. 144; Po-ca-hon-tas, p. 224; Women of the Mandan Tribe, p. 352; Mandan Chief, p. 416. Copyright registered to Geo. H. Derby & Co., 1851.

Harvard College Library.

- vib. *The American Indians*. . . (Rochester: Wanzer, Foot and Co., 1851.)

Identical with via (both were printed by Jewett, Thomas & Co., Buffalo) except for publishers.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Library of Congress.

- VII. *Western Scenes and Reminiscences: Together with Thrilling Legends and Traditions of the Red Men of the Forest. To Which is added Several Narratives of Adventures among the Indians.* (Auburn: Derby & Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton & Mulligan, 1853.) 495 pp.

Same stereotype plates as VI, but no author is given on the title-page, a table of contents is added, and the illustrative plates are changed as follows: Torturing a Captive, front.; Lodge of an Indian Chief, p. 64; The Indian Maiden, p. 95; Saukie and Fox Indians, p. 366; Women of the Mandan Tribe, p. 399. Copyright registered to Geo. H. Derby & Co., 1851.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Library of Congress.

Bibliographical Notes

Some Contributions to the Bibliography of John Masefield: II

The three short lists which follow are the second and last part of a contribution to Masefield studies. They correct and supplement the bibliography of Masefield compiled by Charles H. Simmons, published in 1930 by the Columbia University Press.

I — Errata and Addenda for Part One of the Simmons Bibliography (Books by John Masefield)

1. Simmons (3), *A Mainsail Haul*, p. 9

The introductory poem to this volume of short stories and prose sketches was originally published in *Manchester Guardian*, 26 Oct. 1904, signed "J.M.," and entitled "A Song."

The versions of this 12-line poem differ only in lines 10, 11, 12.

Original version:

I brooked an empty belly by thinking on the tune:
I spun the doors disgusted as drunkards rose to dance,
But now I know the dancing was youth and youth's romance.

Later version:

I brooked an empty belly with thinking of the tune:
The beer-mugs clanked approval, the drunkards rose to dance,
And now I know the music was life and life's romance.

2. Simmons (3), *A Mainsail Haul*, p. 9

An unsigned note concerning "the 'licker' mentioned in 'Don Alphonso's Treasure Hunt'" appeared, in answer to a correspondent's query, in the *Manchester Guardian* issue of the following day, 8 Dec. 1904.

3. Simmons (3), *A Mainsail Haul*, p. 10

The story, "From the Spanish," was originally published in *Manchester Guardian*, 8 Oct. 1904, unsigned, with the title, "A Spanish Love Tale." A few changes have been made from the newspaper version.

4. Simmons (3), *A Mainsail Haul*, p. 10

The story, "The Devil and the Old Man," first published, according to Simmons, as "A Deep Sea Yarn," in *The Green Sheaf*, No. 6, 1903, had a second publication prior to its appearance in *A Mainsail Haul*. This was in *Manchester Guardian*, 23 March 1905, signed "J.M.," and entitled "The Devil and the

Deep Sea." This version of the story, rewritten for *A Mainsail Haul*, is incorrectly listed by Simmons on p. 129 as an uncollected story.

5. Simmons (6), *A Tarpaulin Muster*, p. 15

The story, "The Pirates of Santa Anna," was originally published in *Manchester Guardian*, 9 Nov. 1904.

6. Simmons (6), *A Tarpaulin Muster*, p. 16

A letter, addressed to the editor of *Manchester Guardian*, and signed "John Masefield," appeared in the *Guardian* on 8 May 1905; this letter refers to the publication of Masefield's story, "Anty Bligh," in the *Manchester Guardian* of 15 March 1905, and to the unauthorized dramatization of that story at the Repertory Theatre in London.

7. Simmons (11), *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*, p. 22

Four lyrics from the play, later reprinted separately in various editions of *Selected* and *Collected Poems*, were published originally in *The Englishwoman* in the year preceding the publication of the play, with titles different from those used in *Selected* and *Collected Poems* and with variations in the lines as described below; in *The Englishwoman*, all four poems were signed "John Masefield."

a) The 8-line lyric spoken by the four Centurions on p. 60 of the play, and entitled "The Chief Centurions" in the *Collected Poems*, first appeared in *The Englishwoman*, April 1909, entitled "By a Bierside." The later version has changes in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6.

b) The 4-line lyric spoken by Philip on p. 71 of the play, and entitled "Philip Sings" in the *Collected Poems*, first appeared in *The Englishwoman*, June 1909, entitled "Thermopylae." The only changes are in line 2, from "Brothers, stand firm, the Spartan dead look on": to "Romans, stand firm, the Roman dead look on." and in line 3, where the original capitalization of "Him Who" is abandoned in the later version.

c) The 8-line lyric spoken by the Chanty and the Chorus on pp. 102-03 of the play, and entitled "Chanty" in *Collected Poems*, first appeared in *The Englishwoman*, Aug. 1909, entitled "Chorus." There are no variations except in punctuation.

d) The 12-line lyric used as an epilogue on p. (107) of the play, and printed there with the two dates, 8 Feb. 1908 and 5 July 1909, is entitled "Epilogue" in *Selected Poems*. It first appeared in *The Englishwoman*, Dec. 1909, entitled "Lyric." There are slight variations in lines 5 and 7.

8. Simmons (30), *Sonnets*, p. 56

The irregular issue mentioned by Simmons in the last paragraph on p. 56 also appears without the name, "John Masefield," printed in script under the frontispiece.

9. Simmons (36), *Lollington Downs and Other Poems*, p. 65

The poem xxi, "No man takes the farm . . .," is the poem described by Simmons on p. 54 in item (35), first printed in *The Cambridge Magazine*, 3 March 1917, and reprinted during the same month as No. 5 of *Reprints from the Cambridge Magazine* with the title, "The Cold Cotswolds." The only changes are marks of punctuation and, in line 8 of the poem, the alteration of "year" in the original version to "years."

10. Simmons (44), *Reynard the Fox*, pp. 74ff.

To this item may be added item (44f). On 30 Sept. 1946, Wm. Heinemann, Ltd. published *Reynard the Fox with Selected Songs and Lyrics* in a regular edition of 3,000 copies bound in cloth.

11. Simmons (47), *Enslaved and Other Poems*, pp. 79-80

The poem, "On Growing Old," for which Simmons lists magazine printings for Aug. and Sept., 1919, in the year before the first publication in book form, was printed in May 1919 in *The Oxford Outlook*, 1, 1, pp. 14-15, signed "John Masefield."

12. Simmons (47), *Enslaved and Other Poems*, p. 80

The last paragraph of item (47) states that *Enslaved* was published by the Macmillan Co., N. Y., 29 June 1920, and that *Enslaved and Other Poems* was published by the same company on 30 Oct. 1923. The June 1920 publication appeared in two bindings: one, red cloth; the other, brown boards with cream paper back. Both are entitled *Enslaved*, although the dust wrapper of the brown boards issue lists the title as *Enslaved and Other Poems*. The contents of the two issues are identical with those of the Heinemann *Enslaved and Other Poems* (Simmons 47).

13. Simmons includes in his bibliography the 1922 *Selected Poems*, items (56) and (56a), but he does not include the 1923 *Collected Poems*. This book was issued in both regular and limited editions by William Heinemann, Ltd., London. Both editions are entitled *The Collected Poems of John Masefield* and contain pages (i)-(x) and pages (1)-784. The regular edition is bound in blue cloth. The limited edition, large paper, is bound in tan linen with dark blue leather label and gold letters, t.e.g. This edition is limited to 530 copies, of which 500 are for sale. This writer's copy is numbered and signed with a two-line inscription in the poet's autograph, "On these three things a poet must depend/ His Will, his Natural Talent, and his Friend." The regular edition of 10,000 copies (8,500 bound in cloth, 1,500 in leather) was published 25 Oct. 1923. The limited, signed edition was published 28 Nov. 1923.

14. Simmons (64), *With the Living Voice*, p. 103

This title was also published, bound in light tan paper wrappers, by the Macmillan Co., N. Y., in April 1925.

15. Simmons (74), *The Hawbucks*, p. 121

This title was also published in a regular edition, bound in blue cloth, by William Heinemann, Ltd., London, in 1929.

16. Simmons (75), *South and East*, p. 122

This poem was first published in *Midsummer Night and Other Tales in Verse*, Heinemann, 1928, and is the same poem listed in the contents of that volume by Simmons in item (72), p. 118.

II — Errata and Addenda for Part Two of the Simmons Bibliography (Publications Containing Contributions by John Masefield)

1. Simmons, p. 128, *A Tramp's Cruise*. This prose article, unsigned, which Simmons believes was written "probably by John Masefield," is included in Vol. 1 of a four-volume series of clippings and typed copies of articles, poems, and reviews by John Masefield collected by the late L. G. Thornber and now in the collection of Fraser Drew. Thornber cites no evidence to prove Masefield's authorship. The *Manchester Guardian*, in a letter on 3 Aug. 1951, was unable to trace the authorship of the article.
2. Simmons, p. 128, add *Trafalgar Day* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 22 Oct. 1904, signed "J.M."
3. Simmons, p. 128, add *Tom Tiddler's Ground* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 27 Oct. 1904, signed "J.M."
4. Simmons, p. 128, add *Rogues and Vagabonds* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 1 Nov. 1904, signed "J.M."
5. Simmons, p. 128, add *Knights of the Road* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 7 Nov. 1904, signed "J.M."
6. Simmons, p. 128, add four poems not listed by Simmons and not printed in any collection of poems by Masefield; these were printed in *Manchester Guardian* in 1904, all signed "J.M."

A Fo'c's'le Ditty (11 Nov.)
Vallipo (14 Nov.)
The Gara Brook (18 Nov.)
Westward Ho (26 Nov.)

In *Manchester Guardian* of 28 Nov. 1904, a prose note signed "J.M." was printed in answer to a correspondent's queries about *Westward Ho*.
7. Simmons, p. 128, add *The Irish National Theatre* (two prose articles). In *Manchester Guardian*, 29 Dec. 1904 and 2 Jan. 1905, unsigned, "from Our Special Correspondent."
8. Simmons, p. 129, *The Fancy*, by John Hamilton Reynolds, was issued both in paper wrappers and cloth; the contents of the two issues are identical.

9. Simmons, p. 129, *The Devil and the Deep Sea* should be omitted. See 1, 4, of this article.
10. Simmons, p. 129, add *Paul Jones* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 17 April 1905, signed "J.M."
11. Simmons, p. 129, *Chanties*. A letter addressed to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and signed "John Masefield" appeared in the *Guardian* on 19 Aug. 1905. The original article, *Chanties*, unsigned, in the issue of 16 Aug. had elicited a letter from a reader on 17 Aug. The letter from Masefield refuses to withdraw any statement made in the original article.
12. Simmons, p. 129, add *Whippet Racing* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 19 Aug. 1905, signed "J.M."
13. Simmons, p. 129, add *Life on a Man-o-War* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 21 Oct. 1905, signed "John Masefield."
14. Simmons, p. 129, add *Nelson's Day at Portsmouth* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Oct. 1905, signed "John Masefield."
15. Simmons, p. 129, add *Nelson's Guns* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Oct. 1905, signed "J.M."
16. Simmons, p. 129, add *Brown* (prose story). In *Manchester Guardian*, 16 Jan. 1906, signed "J.M."
17. Simmons, p. 130, add *Christopher Columbus* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 21 May 1906, signed "J.M."
18. Simmons, p. 130, add *A True Story* (prose story). In *Manchester Guardian*, 19 Sept. 1906, signed "J.M."
19. Simmons, p. 130, *A Sailor's Garland* was also published by the Macmillan Co., N. Y., in 1906.
20. Simmons, p. 131, add *The Third Mate's Story: A Castaway's Vision* (prose story). In *Manchester Guardian*, 9 Sept. 1907, signed "J.M."
21. Simmons, p. 132, *Buccaneer Ballads*, by E. H. Visiak, was issued both in paper wrappers and cloth; the contents of the two issues are identical.
22. Simmons, p. 132, add *Our Fighting Seamen* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 29 Sept. 1911, unsigned, but authorship authenticated by *Manchester Guardian* in a letter dated 3 Aug. 1951.
23. Simmons, p. 132, add *Pressgang Days* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 17 Nov. 1911, signed "John Masefield."

24. Simmons, p. 135, add 1919-1920: *Signs of the Times* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 5 Jan. 1920, signed "John Masefield."
25. Simmons, p. 135, On 'Reynard the Fox,' printed in *Manchester Guardian* centenary number of 5 May 1921, was first printed in the first illustrated edition of *Reynard the Fox*, N. Y., 26 Oct. 1920 (see Simmons 44c). It was reprinted, with additions, in *Recent Prose*, London, 22 May 1924 (see Simmons 61), and elsewhere.
26. Simmons, p. 135, *The Delights of a Reader* was reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* Gift Book Number of 15 Dec. 1920.
27. Simmons, p. 136, On *Shakespeare*. Another article, *The Speaking of Verse in Shakespeare's Time*, signed "John Masefield," appeared in *The Spear*, June, 1923.
28. Simmons, p. 136, add *Oxford Recitations* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 27 July 1923, signed "John Masefield."
29. Simmons, p. 136, add *The Oxford Recitations: A New Feeling for Poetry* (prose article). In *Manchester Guardian*, 1 Aug. 1924, signed "John Masefield."

III — Errata and Addenda for Part Three of the Simmons Bibliography
(Books and Articles about John Masefield)

1. Simmons, p. 147, for Mais, S. B. B., read Mais, S. P. B.
2. Simmons, p. 147, for W. B. Hamilton, read W. H. Hamilton.
3. Simmons, p. 148, add *Mr. Masefield's Grand Manner*. In *The Nation and Athenaeum*, London, 30 July 1927, pp. 580-88.
4. Simmons, p. 150, add Scudder, Vida D., *Masefield's Arthurian Tales*. In *The Yale Review*, New Haven, Spring 1929, pp. 591-94.
5. Simmons, p. 152 (Towse, J. Ranken, etc.), for 17 Nov. 1915, read 18 Nov. 1915.

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The Text of the First Performance of "The Duenna"

In an article in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 17 September 1925, and in his standard edition of Sheridan's plays (Blackwell, 1928, I, 255-76), R. Crompton Rhodes made clear the difference between the corrupt versions of *The Duenna* and the accepted one of 1794. But great as our gratitude to Rhodes must be, I think he was over-confident when he wrote of his own text: "There is no reason to doubt that the play is printed as it was first acted." I shall try to prove that neither Rae¹ nor Rhodes printed *The Duenna* as it was first acted, and I shall base my remarks on the newspaper reports of the first performance and versions of some of the songs.

The most striking notice of *The Duenna* appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of 22 November 1775. After mentioning that the situations were truly comic and very happily introduced, the critic added:

In some places we find a few coarsenesses, and aims at St. Giles's wit, which we hope the author will expunge. Among these we particularly advise the taking out the allusion to the print of Bajazet in a cage; the threatening to send home Margaret's property in a frank; the story Isaac tells of his mother; and some of the repetitions of the description of Margaret's ordinary face. The first is neither a correct nor a comic allusion; the second is vulgar, stale and improbable; the third too low and farcical; the fourth both unnecessary and disgusting.

To these suggestions we may add that of the *Morning Post* of the same date: "We would recommend the reflection on the legitimacy of our nobility to be omitted in future."

Only one of the five allusions cited is now to be found in Rhodes's standard text, based on the edition of 1794. That is the reference to Bajazet in a cage.

I believe we may discover two of the others in Rae's edition. "The story Isaac tells of his mother" is surely the passage (p. 118) that Rae describes as being in Sheridan's own hand in the draft:

Duenna. No—no you offer me your hand—then another has your Heart—
Isaac. Oh Lud! no ma'am—'twas my Mother I meant as I hop'd to be saved.

Duenna. What—Sir—am I like your Mother?

Isaac. Stay, dear ma'am, I meant that you put me in mind of what my mother was when a Girl!—Yes—yes—ma'am my Mother was formerly a great Beauty I assure you—and when she married my Father about thirty years ago—as you may remember Ma'am—

¹ *Sheridan's Plays Now Printed As He Wrote Them*, ed. W. Fraser Rae, London, 1902.

Duenna. I Sir—I remember thirty years ago?

Isaac. O good lack—no ma'am—thirty years! No—no Ma'am it was thirty months I said—yes—yes Ma'am thirty months ago on her marriage with my Father who was as I was saying a great Beauty—but catching cold the year afterwards in Child Bed of your humble Servant.

Duenna. Of you Sir—and married within these thirty months?

Isaac. O the Devil I've made myself out but a year old!

This amusing passage is not in the standard text.

"The reflection on the legitimacy of our nobility" may also be found in Rae. Don Jerome's remark (II, 2) appears in many texts and reads: "In England they were formerly as nice as to Birth and Family as we are—but they have long discovered what a wonderful purifier Gold is—and now—no one there regards Pedigree in anything but a horse." Ferdinand then retorts (Rae, p. 121): "True, Sir, and the consequence is, that a Nobleman there is surer of the Breed of his Poney than the Legitimacy of his Heir."

Any text claiming to be that of the first performance must have included the threat to send Margaret's property home in a frank, possibly uttered by Don Jerome in Act I, Sc. 3, in response to the *Duenna*'s question, "I may have my things, I presume?" It must also have contained the "unnecessary" descriptions of Margaret's face. One of these was probably the sentence that Moore (*Memoirs of . . . Sheridan*, 2nd ed., 1825, I, 173) thought unaccountably omitted by Sheridan when revising the work. It compared her face with "a parchment in which Time and Deformity have engrossed their Titles."

The threat and the descriptions are not to be found in Rae. Since his edition also reveals that Sheridan was undecided about the name of the *Duenna* herself and about Ferdinand's servant, it seems unlikely to be the text used at the first performance. We are driven to the hypothesis that there was once in existence an authoritative version used on the first night. It resembled the texts of Rae and Rhodes but differed from theirs in details. Probably it was the one Sheridan was required by law to send, before performance, to the Lord Chamberlain's reader.

This lost manuscript might also have shown that the wording of some of the songs was changed between the first performance and the publication of *The Songs, Duets, Trios &c in The Duenna* (Wilkie: London, 1775). The "rondeau" sung by Anthonio is to be found with three stanzas in the *London Chronicle* of 21-23 November 1775, and in *The Songs, Duets, Trios &c.* (p. 8) and Rae (p. 102); but with only two stanzas in Rhodes (I, 192). Don Carlos's air, "Had I a heart for falsehood framed," ends in Rhodes:

For friends in all the aged you'll meet,
And lovers in the young.

But all three contemporary sources give its last line as, "And brothers in the young." In Isaac's song, "Give Isaac the nymph who no beauty can boast," Rhodes prints the third line of the third stanza as,

Be they light, grey or black, their lustre and hue.

But the three other sources quoted all agree on the rendering:

For in eyes tho' so various the lustre and hue.

The *Morning Post* and Rae print "thy fond strain" in Anthonio's opening song, where Rhodes has "thy soft strain"; and the *Morning Chronicle* and Rae print (in defiance of rhyme) "to stop" in the duet, "Turn thee round I pray thee," where Rhodes has "to stay." These alternations would be of too trifling a nature to deserve comment did they not support my argument that the text of the opening performance was different from that of 1794 in several particulars, and was often nearer Rae than Rhodes.

One other fact of some importance emerges. It is that here, as elsewhere, Sheridan seems to have been ready to learn from his critics and remove some of the passages that offended them.

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Unrecorded Newspaper Reviews of Charlotte Brontë's Shirley and Villette

Of the three novels published by Charlotte Brontë during her lifetime, only *Jane Eyre* has received the attention of students interested in newspapers as a source of contemporary critical reception.¹ The following list of unrecorded reviews of *Shirley* and *Villette* was compiled from English dailies and weeklies of the period 1849-55.

Shirley

1. *The Atlas*, 3 November 1849, pp. 696-97.
2. *The Observer*, 4 November 1849, p. 7.
3. *The Globe*, 6 December 1852, p. 1.
4. *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 11 December 1852, p. 6.
5. *The Nonconformist*, 15 December 1852, p. 992.
6. *The Sunday Times*, 2 January 1853, p. 2.

¹ See, e.g., Hon. Mr. Justice Vaisey, "Early Reviews of 'Jane Eyre,'" *Transactions and Other Publications of the Brontë Society*, XI (No. 3, Part LVIII), 184-85.

Villette

1. *The Morning Advertiser*, 4 February 1853, p. 6.
2. *The Globe*, 7 February 1853, p. 1.
3. *The Atlas*, 12 February 1853, p. 106.
4. *The Weekly News and Chronicle*, 12 February 1853, pp. 105-06.
5. *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 17 February 1853, p. 6.
6. *The Magnet*, 28 February 1853, p. 6.
7. *The Sunday Times*, 13 March 1853, p. 2.
8. *The Nonconformist*, 16 March 1853, p. 224.
9. *The Sun*, 9 November 1855, p. 3.

ROGER L. BROOKS

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News and Notes

Edited by HERBERT CAHOON

THE WALTER HAMPDEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY of The Players Club, 16 Gramercy Park, New York 3, N. Y., is at the service of scholars and all those interested in the theatre. Earlier this year the Club issued a release describing some of its treasures and was host to a meeting of The Theatre Library Association. This collection of books, playbills, photographs, letters and manuscripts touches personally and with a sense of continuity most of those colorful personalities who molded the American theatre and who continue to direct its destinies. Correspondence and books of Joseph Jefferson, John Drew, Walter Hampden, Otis Skinner, and Clyde Fitch are well represented here and the prompt scripts of the founder of The Players, Edwin Booth, who died at the Club in 1893, are a cherished possession. The Library, which is reached only after an excursion up stairways and along corridors filled with diverting portraits, costumes, death and life masks, and fascinating memorabilia, has a sentimental nineteenth-century flavor and a number of special exhibits devoted to the life and career of Edwin Booth. It also has the deed to the rebuilt Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, dated 8 June 1793, and signed by Richard Brinsley Sheridan; this deed was a prized possession of Joseph Jefferson, The Players' second president, and was given to the Club by Channing Pollock. The United States has a number of excellent library collections devoted to the theatre and its history; among these The Walter Hampden Memorial Library, with traditions and vitality, takes its place.



MRS. FRANCES J. BREWER, Curator of Rare Books at the Detroit Public Library is preparing a detailed bibliography of the writings of Willa Cather; Dan H. Laurence, whose bibliography of Henry James (with Leon Edel) was published in 1957 and whose bibliography of Robert Nathan will be published by the Yale University Library before the end of the year, continues work on his Bernard Shaw bibliography, a truly monumental task. The Soho Bibliographies, published in London by Rupert Hart-Davis, Ltd., promise volumes on George Moore and D. H. Lawrence in the not too distant future. Nearly all literary bibliographies published in recent years deal with authors prominent since 1900. Full-dress bibliographies of Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Poe, and Whitman (and Dickens and Thackeray in England) need to be done or redone, but the expense and labor are great and foundation or other

support for such projects is almost non-existent. The volumes of the *Bibliography of American Literature* are and will continue to be of first-rate importance to every student and collector, but the major figures of American literature deserve the fullest possible treatment—books and articles about, translations, musical settings—similar to the James Whitcomb Riley, Booth Tarkington, and George Ade bibliographies sponsored by the Lilly Endowment Inc. and published by the Indiana Historical Society. And to this exhaustive treatment might be added a finding list of the author's manuscripts which few bibliographies now contain. These bibliographies will cost a great deal of money to compile and publish or they will have to be a tremendous labor of love—and worthy labors of love are not common.



IN FEBRUARY, the noted bibliographer and bookbinder, Thomas J. Holmes, died in Ohio and in April, Edgar S. Oppenheimer, one of the great collectors of children's books died in New York. Mr. Holmes came to the United States from England in 1902 to join the staff of the Club Bindery; he remained as its sole forwarder until the end of the Bindery in 1909. Work with other binderies and in the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library followed, and in 1916 Mr. Holmes became bibliographer of the William G. Mather Collection. His bibliographies of Increase, Cotton, and the minor Mathers are definitive and monumental and, for there can be no higher praise, a joy to use. Mr. Holmes was for many years a member of this Society. Dr. Oppenheimer came to the United States to live nearly twenty years ago. He had been a collector of illuminated manuscripts and illustrated books, but in this country he devoted his time to building up a remarkable collection of children's literature to which he continued to add up to the time of his death. His enthusiasm for collecting brought him many fine items and he discovered much bibliographical information on rare juvenilia which he unfortunately did not publish; his capacity for sharing his enthusiasms brought him many friends in the world of books, and his benefactions to the Yale University Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library will long be remembered.



UNDER THE EXPANSIVE BANNER of the Rare Book Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries of the American Library Association, 212 librarians, dealers, and collectors met at the University of Virginia from 18 to 20 June and constituted the first ALA Rare Book Conference. Eight panels discussed the forthcoming ACRL rare book manual, appraisals of gifts

to libraries, the antiquarian book trade and auction houses, collecting in various fields, and problems in cataloguing and classifying rare books and manuscripts. A summary of the papers and activities of this highly successful Conference has been prepared by members of the ACRL staff and plans are afoot for a similar but briefer meeting in Montreal next June. Against the profits and pleasures of the Conference two facts stand out in bold relief: the American Library Association, often considered indifferent to the ways of rare books, was the parent sponsor, and the ranks were swelled by representations from many college, university, and public libraries which have in recent years found themselves, often for the first time, recipients or collectors of rare books. More rare book rooms and special collections (the term persists) are appearing throughout the United States every year and it is good to know that the ALA and the ACRL, as well as members of the BSA, stand ready to be of service to them.



THE MUSIC CRITIC of the Washington, D. C., *Evening Star* and *Sunday Star*, Irving Lowens, is currently engaged in preparing a detailed bibliography of American songsters before 1820. He would particularly like to learn of copies of songsters owned by private collectors and confesses to a special interest in American imprints of the eighteenth century relating to his field. Mr. Lowens is the author of "Copyright and Andrew Law," published in the last issue of these *Papers*.



TO THE CENSUS OF COPIES of the *Great International Walking-Match* by Charles Dickens (29 February 1868) given in this space in the *Papers* of the First Quarter add the Thomas Bailey Aldrich copy at Harvard and a copy recently acquired by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.



VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES this fall will include Desmond Flower of Cassell and Company, Ltd., and John Murray of the London firm whose name he bears. L. M. J. Delaissé of the Royal Library in Brussels will continue his studies in Flemish manuscript illumination at the Institute for Advanced Study and at The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore; Theodore Besterman will speak on Voltaire at several universities and libraries. L. F. Powell, "Dean of Johnsonians," is expected here in September to take part in Johnsonian celebrations.

Book Reviews

BOWERS, FREDSON. *Textual and Literary Criticism*. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1959. ix, 186 pp. \$3.75.

Fredson Bowers' latest book consists of his three Sandars lectures, delivered at Cambridge University in January 1958, plus a fourth paper presented before the Bibliographical Society in London during the same month. They are polemical in tone, authoritative in the statement of principle and example, enlightened in the application of theory to practice. Taken together they can be properly regarded as the definitive account of the function of textual bibliography at the present time.

The first of the Sandars lectures, "Textual Criticism and the Critic," is concerned with demonstrating a truth that can never be repeated too often: that literary criticism is crippled if it neglects scholarship. We are given a parade of examples, garnered from the work of some of the brighter names in modern literary criticism, of frequently ingenious and regularly muddled opinions rashly entered upon with an insufficient knowledge of the textual authority of the work in question. From this we pass, in the subsequent lectures, to a consideration of specific "biblio-textual" problems. These, Professor Bowers writes, present themselves in three main categories: "the analysis of an extant manuscript; the recovery of the characteristics of a lost manuscript; and the analysis of authority in the history of textual transmission." By way of demonstrating just what the analysis of an extant manuscript implies, Bowers recounts, in the second of his Sandars lectures, his own investigations into the manuscripts for the 1860 edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*: a piece of scholarly detective work of the greatest importance, not only for establishing Whitman's text, but for what it tells us about Whitman's creative methods as well.

From the analysis of an extant manuscript, the discussion moves, in the third Sandars lecture, to the recovery of the characteristics of a lost manuscript, and it is focused here, inevitably, upon Shakespeare. Here, the problem with which the textual critic and bibliographer concerns himself is in fact a double one: it involves "the twin problems of recovery and of transmission," the problem of the transmission of a text being "only an extension" of the basic problem of recovering the characteristics of the lost manuscript. The key to both problems, Bowers declares, lies in the research being undertaken in compositor-identification and analysis, the importance of which is pointed up in connection with the vexed relationship of the two texts—to say nothing of the question of the manuscript that underlies the Folio text—of plays like *Hamlet*, 2 *Henry IV*,

Othello, and *Lear*. "It seems almost impossible to believe," Bowers states, "that when we know our compositors well enough, we cannot use our information about their habits when they transmit printed copy—such apparently trivial matters as the influence on these compositors of the spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation of printed copy—to settle the question once and for all and to demonstrate beyond all possible doubt the exact transmission of these debated texts." A widened and more precise knowledge of compositorial practices will supplement the evidence of substantive readings with the evidence of the accidentals of a text, evidence which, because the more mechanically produced, is therefore "the less likely to be subject to conscious evaluation by the persons engaged in the act of transmission."

The final chapter, "Principle and Practice in the Editing of Early Dramatic Texts," is a finely lucid and highly sensible statement of the specific problems the textual critic must be prepared to face up to, of the bibliographical factors which decide his conclusions in problems of textual recovery and transmission, and of the rationale that ought properly to govern the incorporation of such decisions in an edited text. The duties of an editor, as Bowers defines them, are stern, but his office is an honorable one precisely to the extent that he is prepared to fulfill them. An editor must, in a word, be responsible; he must be prepared to commit himself in the establishment of his text, if his edition is to be worthy of the name, and have not merely the status of a reprint or a facsimile. Simply amassing the bibliographical evidence, and leaving it for the reader to decide for himself between alternative readings will not do: "an editor must not expect his own weaknesses of analysis to be excused on the plea that he has printed evidence which enables the critic to do the job himself if he wishes. It is an anomaly for an editor proposing to establish a text to expect wiser heads to carry forward and then to apply the basic bibliographical examination of the document on which the very details of the establishment should have rested. 'Every reader his own bibliographer' is an absurdity." That the textual critic must be allowed the freedom of eclectic choice in establishing his text is inherent in Bowers' whole conception of the editor's function; he has shown in the last of the Sandars lectures that "eclecticism" need not be a dreaded word. There, and in this final lecture, one is struck by the practical wisdom which the author brings to his highly scientific discipline. What he says about the anomalous practice of partially modernizing an old-spelling text is a case in point. With irrefutable logic he states the linguistic and bibliographical problems involved in partial modernization; and his proposal for a critically edited, old-spelling edition of Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists that will "serve as a reading text for the critically inclined," while establishing

"the text for whatever modernised versions may prove to be commercially necessary" seems an eminently sane means of ridding ourselves both of the editions which fall between the two stools of old and modern spelling, and of that never-ending stream of editions of Shakespeare which still substantially reprint the Globe text "because the editors (for textbook and general reading purposes) feel incapable of grappling with the problems of the originals."

CYRUS HOY

Vanderbilt University

BRANCH, EDGAR. *A Bibliography of James T. Farrell's Writings, 1921-1957*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959. xxiii, 142 pp. 8½ x 5½ inches. \$6.00.

That a scholar engaging in a study of a living author may encounter indifference or even hostility when he approaches his subject directly for information is understandable. The information the scholar needs may represent an unwelcome intrusion into the author's private world: the bibliographer, for example, may require the author's assistance in locating juvenile publications or in identifying unsigned pieces which he published anonymously or under a pseudonym for the precise reason that he desired to conceal his authorship of the works. In providing assistance there is, moreover, the risk that the author may find himself in the position of seeming to give public endorsement to a work he does not care to endorse. Yet when a capable scholar can secure the willing and disinterested coöperation of his subject, the resulting work—critical, biographical, or bibliographical—will surely gain in accuracy and completeness.

This ideal type of scholar and subject-author relationship appears to have prevailed between Professor Branch and James T. Farrell as the former compiled his *Bibliography of James T. Farrell's Writings, 1921-1957*. Farrell not only identified unsigned material for Professor Branch ("My memory is fairly good," Farrell said), gave him access to his papers, answered questions, and otherwise coöperated; he also wrote a preface to the work recording his gratitude to Professor Branch for performing with "energy, patience, intelligence, and enthusiasm" the difficult task of listing his voluminous publications. Farrell took care to note further that he provided assistance only after the work had reached an advanced stage and with the understanding that this assistance would impose no restrictions on Professor Branch's literary or personal judgements of him.

When it is noted from the Foreword that the bibliography contains 1,107

entries representing first publications which appeared in "70 books, 136 periodicals, 72 newspapers, and 18 pamphlets," one is moved to echo Farrell's thanks to Professor Branch for having provided scholars with guidance through "a dense, and at first bewildering, forest of publications." Though one may have reservations that Farrell is either "one of America's most distinguished" or most "controversial" writers, as the publisher's jacket blurb asserts, he can agree with Professor Branch that the quantity of Farrell's publications is larger "than commonly supposed." Even if this voluminous output has more of a sociological than belletristic value and even if Farrell clearly belongs in the second rather than first rank of contemporary American writers, there is no question about his works having enough significance to merit critical study. This bibliography listing Farrell's publications and giving particular attention "to hundreds of less easily found writings" provides the critic with the literary record he needs for this study.

The bibliography lists Farrell's publications from 1921, when he first began writing pieces for his high school newspaper, through his last publication for 1957. The entries are arranged under two headings, "Imaginative Literature" and "Other Prose Writings," the first being Farrell's novels, short stories, a poem and a play; and the second, his essays, book reviews, news reports, letters, newspaper columns, and other miscellaneous writing. The purpose in so dividing the entries was to prevent distributing the smaller, more important first group among the larger, less important second group. Within each group the titles are arranged chronologically by date of publication, an arrangement which Professor Branch considered more workable than an alphabetical listing, since the entries under imaginative literature are not so numerous as to make the location of particular titles difficult, and since the titles of the more numerous entries of Farrell's other prose writing adapt themselves neither to a meaningful arrangement nor to easy location by an alphabetical listing. When entries in collected volumes of stories or essays appeared earlier as separate publications that fact is indicated by cross references. The volume contains two appendices, the first listing foreign first editions of Farrell's books to provide some indication of his popularity outside the United States; and the second, tape recordings of Farrell's unpublished speeches. Many of these speeches are concerned with Farrell's views on writing and on the status of contemporary literature and thus contain important source material for the Farrell critic.

This bibliography is a valuable work deserving respect as being more than merely "an initial guide" to Farrell's publications, which is all Professor Branch claims for it. Two additions would have made it even more useful: (1) an index, particularly for the "Other Prose Writings" section, and (2) a list of the more important biographical and critical writings about Farrell. The index

would have prevented the incidental user of the bibliography checking for a particular item—to see, for example, what Faulkner novels Farrell had reviewed—from having to thumb through nearly a hundred pages of entries. A list of secondary material limited to the more significant commentaries on Farrell would probably have required no considerable number of additional pages and would have added much to the usefulness of the bibliography.

WALTON R. PATRICK

Alabama Polytechnic Institute

HOOD, DORA. *The Side Door; Twenty-Six Years in My Book Room*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958. 238 pp. 6 x 8½ inches. \$4.95.

The front door led into the parlor; the side door led into the book room. For twenty-six years Mrs. Dora Hood deftly doubled as housewife and antiquarian bookseller. When she retired in 1954 she could point with pride to having raised some of the "best children a mother ever had" and to an international reputation as perhaps the leading specialist in Canadiana. These artless, rambling, but always charming memoirs tell how she did it.

Mrs. Hood learned to swim in the book business by jumping off the dock. Left a widow with two small children, a meager income, and the dubious qualifications of an Edwardian genteel education, she bought a mail-order bookshop on impulse and called it Dora Hood's Book Room. As her choice of name unconsciously suggests, she might have seemed more at home in a tea room, but her sturdy common sense, wide-ranging curiosity, and the ability to learn from people and books brought her quick and lasting success. Collectors became her teachers and she did her homework on the catalogues of her competitors. By the time she was ready to sell out, there was nothing odd in seeing the eminent historian, Dr. W. Stewart Wallace, succeed her as proprietor of the "book room."

Like her house, her city of Toronto, and perhaps like English-speaking Canada itself, Mrs. Hood's bookshop eschewed both the quaint and the glamorous. She sold medium-priced books to institutions and individuals who bought them as reading copies and who would have been bored or mystified by "points" or detailed collations. In the Canadian book trade the subject was the thing, and the typical customer looked for books on his family or home town. The great bibliographical prizes in Canadiana came from London and New York, not from Toronto.

If Mrs. Hood's professional career brought her little opportunity for Rosenbach-like exploits in the auction room, it did give her plenty of chances to know

collectors in all the interesting variety of the species. As the blurb states with unusual truthfulness, her recollections "turn out to be all about people." Indeed, her delight in them leads her into anecdotage that wanders alarmingly far from the point of her narrative. There must be few books whose chapter headings give such a poor clue to the contents.

Luckily for the bookman, Mrs. Hood gossips about books as well as people. The most interesting and useful contribution of her memoir is its many little essays on less well-known Canadian books that have seldom been described elsewhere. If the index were not so skimpy as to make identification of a particular title awkward, Mrs. Hood's account would make an excellent narrative bibliography of Canadiana.

But it is not fair to expect systematic description and listing from this autobiography, any more than it is to cavil at the sometimes careless writing and the plentiful misprints. Mrs. Hood presumes only to entertain, not instruct; but those who enjoy good book talk and a revealing glimpse into the back rooms of Canadian bookselling will gladly follow her through *The Side Door*.

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN

University of British Columbia

HUNTER, DARD. *My Life With Paper, an Autobiography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. xiii, 236 pp. 8½ x 5¾ inches. \$5.00.

The name Dard Hunter is synonymous with paper and all that is knowledgeable concerning its early history and manufacture. How and why the author devoted his life to the study of paper is humbly told in this autobiography. The book is a revision and an extension of an earlier autobiography of Mr. Hunter's first forty years, 1883-1923, *Before Life Began* (1941). The latter was an edition of 219 copies limited to one copy for each member of the Rowfant Club of Cleveland.

The present volume is illustrated with fifty-eight photographs. A number of these show equipment and processes used in various parts of the world for making paper by hand. The book includes a bibliography of titles used by the author in his research work in the craft of papermaking extending over a period of forty years. There is a second short bibliography relating to the actual making of the private-press books. The book also contains an index. Each copy has bound into it one piece of paper which the author made by hand and one piece of Chinese spirit-paper which he collected.

As biographies go, the story of Dard Hunter's life is probably no more fas-

inating than those of other famous persons. However, as a result of the author's close association with the art of bookmaking and design, it will hold a special significance for all bookmen. He has been an outstanding craftsman in every aspect of bookmaking—author, illustrator, type-designer, punch-cutter, founder, papermaker, and printer. He has produced books in which every step, from writing to the finished volumes, has been his own work. Born into a newspaper family, he had printer's ink on his hands at an early age. His familiarity with type, combined with a talent for drawing and design, led him to study in Europe and America. He worked as a commercial designer in London, an experience which gave him almost daily opportunity to visit the Science Museum in South Kensington. From the exhibits he saw there came his desire to make a book by hand completely by his own labor—paper, type, and printing. In turn this urge stimulated his interest in the history of papermaking and led to further travels in Asia and other remote parts of the world where paper was still being made by ancient hand methods. His travels also provide the reader with a background for greater appreciation of the sixteen books which Hunter wrote as a result of his trips. Eight of these were limited editions made in his own workshop.

Bibliographical by-products of the autobiography are many. For example, the account of his work at Roycroft Inn, East Aurora, New York, presents interesting sidelights on Elbert Hubbard and his institution in the days of its fame, through the eyes of a former employee. Another is the explanation of the founding of the Dard Hunter Paper Museum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and its permanent establishment later at the Institute of Paper Chemistry, Appleton, Wisconsin.

WALTER BRAHM

Ohio State Library

IRWIN, RAYMOND. *The Origins of the English Library*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1958. 255 pp. 8¾ x 5½ inches. 25s.

A book, whether a literary masterpiece or a study of facts, should stimulate the imagination of the reader—make him wonder. It is absence of this essential quality which makes so many scholarly tomes dull and unreadable. Professor Irwin's work is a slender one, but it certainly stimulates the imagination. It could be said with some justification that librarianship has become over the last thirty years an over-written subject and yet the field in which Professor Irwin writes, and more especially the fields into which he tempts the reader to wander, are still largely unexplored.

The reason for this lies in the fact that, in modern times, the librarian has

tended to concentrate on administrative and "professional" problems and forget that so much of his craft is a discipline, a branch of scholarship. The librarian, in common with the scientist and the engineer, has a great deal to learn from the study of his origins and there is no study more calculated to round off his training, or rather to place it in correct perspective. The history of libraries is part of the history of learning, and indeed, it is an aspect which historians of learning have tended to neglect. Unfortunately librarians have shared in this neglect and recent increased interest in the subject has largely manifested itself outside the profession, in the works of such writers as Archer Taylor and Sears Jayne. Professor Irwin's book does a great deal to remedy this short-sightedness and restore a sense of continuity in library development, during a time when so many of us have tended to regard the modern library as merely the offspring of the big-heartedness of nineteenth-century liberal democracy.

Professor Irwin's work is no antiquarian study—but essentially an introduction to the study of the development of the library within a national culture. Similar studies of France, Spain, Italy, and other European countries—and of the field of oriental library history, which is largely unknown to the west—would be immensely valuable.

Among the many fields of interest in which Professor Irwin's book should provoke research are the history of library architecture, the connection between the decline of folklore and the rise of printing, and between printing and literacy, the study of the migrations of books and libraries, and the *active* library of the past, whether it be the great Alexandrian library of Callimachus, the monasteries and their scriptoria, or Horace Walpole and his Strawberry Hill Press.

On all these subjects Professor Irwin writes thoughtfully and vividly, and how often does the reader feel that "there is nothing new under the sun." He writes at some length about the Roman colonnade as a feature of the classical library and its lineal descendant, the medieval cloister, both being devised to accommodate the lost arts of peripatetic reading and reading aloud. The pre-Renaissance librarians would have agreed with Carlyle's stricture that reading should be a solitary and contemplative occupation. The store with its colonnade on the sidewalk is still a common feature of countries with a mediterranean or more tropical climate. A colonnaded library turned in upon itself round a central patio is a type of architecture eminently suitable for a country like the one in which I write and indeed for other countries with a climate similar to that of the warm or even hot countries of Greece, Rome, Arabia, and India, from which so much of our modern western culture sprang.

Professor Irwin writes interestingly on the gradual replacement of the habit of story-telling by the habit of reading, tracing the change as it slowly spread

down the social strata. It is so often forgotten that the past is around us and there are many people still in the story-telling stage who must pass straight into the modern reading age, into the reading of the newspaper, magazine, or propaganda sheet—a different world from that of the earnest and contemplative reading of the self-educated working-class Victorian.

As reading is a solitary occupation, so any work on the history of libraries must include and emphasize the importance of private libraries and their influence not merely on the writer or collector possessing them, but also on others. Professor Irwin writes amusingly on the varying *content* of libraries both public and private, whether the owner be a duke or a domestic servant.

On the ever-fascinating problem of the break-up of the monastic libraries, Professor Irwin writes some sound sense. He emphasizes that the seriousness of the losses, although sensed by a few, did not weigh so heavily on contemporary scholars as it does on ourselves. Little of the contents of the libraries was considered to be of much value and in fact, at the time seemed more comparable to a collection of out-of-date scientific textbooks in our own day. The monastic library by the mid-sixteenth century had, particularly since the invention of printing and even before, ceased to be an essential element in society; its passing was regarded by many, irrespective of their religious faith, rather in the same light as was the passing of the private subscription libraries four hundred years later.

Professor Irwin also writes more briefly on the movement of books from the monastic to the private libraries and then back to public libraries. Here again one's imagination is stimulated by the need of more studies of the movement of books in more modern times, of which A. N. L. Munby's series on the Phillipps Library is such an outstanding example. Little detailed information is available, for example, on the destruction or dispersal of collections in France, Germany, Italy, and more particularly Russia during the last fifty years.

It is into by-ways such as this that Professor Irwin's book points—by-ways, which are waited to be explored, which librarians are in a favored position to explore, and which, when explored, must throw considerable light not only on the history of libraries, but also on the history of learning.

JOHN PERRY

University of Natal, South Africa

MOXON, JOSEPH. *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*. Edited by Herbert Davis and Harry Carter. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. lxiii, 480 pp. \$16.80.

Moxon is one of the foundations upon which rests that considerable structure of knowledge and practice we call historical or descriptive bibliography. Every issue of this journal reflects a debt to the first, the most detailed, and (on the whole) the most accurate description of the practice of typefounding and printing before the age of König and Mergenthaler. But it is not necessary to explain to the readers of this journal the importance of *Moxon*. Unhappily, the text of this important book has never been freely available. The first edition of 1683-84 has been for years a rare book (Appendix III of the present edition lists fifty-three known copies; three more have subsequently been noted). De Vinne's limited edition of 1896 also for years has been at least "scarce."

If waiting, however, was necessary to produce the edition we have before us, then the waiting has been richly rewarded. Nothing but the highest praise can be offered to its editors and to its printer. This is the edition we have been waiting for.

Any fortunate possessor of an earlier edition need not believe he can do without this one. He cannot. The long introduction gives us for the first time an adequate account of the life and achievements of Joseph Moxon. The accurate reprint of the text of the *Exercises* itself is accompanied by notes reflecting the most exacting and indefatigable scholarship. They are placed with judgment, written with clarity and rare good sense and, seemingly, exhaust the resources of the literature. A welcome value is brought to the annotation by the editors' first-hand acquaintance with the actual working of a hand press. Only those who had composed type, locked up a chase, stretched tympan and frisket, wet paper and pulled a bar could have written these illuminating notes.

The text is followed by seven appendices: (I) Longer notes, (II) Errors in the Original Corrected in this Reprint, (III) A Census of Copies . . . , (IV) The Preface to the First Volume (i.e., *Mechanick Exercises* . . . *The first being of the Smiths Trade*. (1677/8.)), (V) Additional Technical Illustrations, (VI) Moxon's Printing and Publishing: A List (annotated and with locations given), (VII) Later Books on Printing and their Reliance on Moxon. These, in turn, are followed by one of the best indexes this reviewer has had the pleasure of using in some time.

The book is illustrated with forty-two plates and facsimiles in addition to reproductions of the thirty-one in the original. The book is admirably printed and a worthy tribute to its dedicatee, Mr. Charles Batey.

I would like to comment on one editorial note and regret the lack of two. On page 207 of this edition, the second note considers as paradoxical (and perhaps as an error) Moxon's comment on too close setting, "especially if no *Capital Letter* follows the *Thin-space* or *Point* go before it." It is true that tradition and authority both call for wider spacing between sentences. However, because of the apparent extra space (the area above the point) and because of the visual break caused by the greater mass or height of the capital letter in contrast to the lower case, in a very tight line the actual space between point and capital *can* be less than between other words in the line. Admittedly it is an emergency device, but Moxon knew whereof he spoke.

On page 295, line 12, Moxon, in describing the work of the puller, says, "But yet he must let the *Bar* fly so far back as that the *Tympan* may just rise clear off the *Plattin*." The words *Tympan* and *Plattin* should be transposed.

Moxon says (page 292 of this edition) that three tokens was three hours work. A whole press token was ten quires, i.e., 250 sheets. Two hundred and fifty sheets an hour has been repeated by generations of writers as the rate of printing in the seventeenth century. As recently as 1947 Ellic Howe in his introduction to *The London Compositor* gives this figure with no questions asked. Hansard (in *Typographia*, 1825, p. 608) explicitly states 250 as the rate for "ordinary work." This means one sheet every fifteen seconds as an average rate of production. Two experienced men might achieve it. But to maintain it, allowing for two pulls a form, inking with balls, placing the sheets over the pins on the *Reiteration* (and washing the *Tympan-cloth* occasionally), plus the normal interruptions of press work, seems incredible. No operator of a hand press to whom I have posed the question believes it possible. One, who daily for years has operated a small Washington, claims his maximum output as seventy-five an hour under ideal conditions. Two men working on the University of California's Albion do well to produce sixty sheets an hour—hour after hour. Admittedly we are more careful of our press-work than were the early English printers, but we also have large brayers and one-pull presses. Double these figures, or halve Moxon's, and a realistic rate results. De Vinne, in *The Invention of Printing* (1878, p. 531), said that one man in 1840, using an inking machine and a press allowing for one pull for an impression, was expected to produce 1,500 impressions in a day. For a ten-hour day, this meant 150 an hour. De Vinne says further: "Considering the surface printed, the performance of one hand-pressman in 1840 was about eight times more than that of one pressman in 1458." (He was referring to Philip de Lignamine's statement that the printers of Mainz printed three hundred sheets a day.)

In any event, there seems to be, if not a question, at least an important state-

ment that has not been tested. Rate of production of early printers is of importance to some bibliographic investigations. This reviewer would like to see Moxon's statement tested. Who would have been more fitted to have done this than the capable editors of this edition?

KENNETH J. CARPENTER

University of California at Berkeley

NASH, RAY. *American Writing Masters and Copybooks. History and Bibliography through Colonial Times*. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1959. xx, 78 pp., 36 collotype plates. 9½ x 6¼ inches. \$10.00.

After fifteen years of search and study, Ray Nash here presents his first full harvest in a field now become largely his own. His account brings order to an otherwise neglected area, rendering tribute by the way to the late Ernst Deterer of the Newberry Library. That gifted librarian, type designer, scribe, and founder of the Chicago school of calligraphers, using the Newberry's newly acquired Ricketts collection, circulated in 1950 a "Preliminary Checklist of American Writing Manuals and Copybooks to 1850"—a list rendered the more valuable by the coöperative comments of librarians throughout the country. Mr. Nash's preface mentions Stanley Morison "as prime mover and constant encourager" of his project, of which the present volume contains only the earlier part. As the author states, "the more voluminous bibliography, which would bring the story down to the era of Platt Rogers Spencer, remains to be put into print."

The "earlier part" now in hand is full of interest and fresh information, set forth with a deceptive ease and an affectionate charm natural to an author who himself writes one of the most gracious and vigorous italic hands of our time. His book consists of thirty-four pages of historical monograph to the year 1801, with a thirty-two-page bibliography of the copybooks. Then follow nine pages of index in double column and thirty-six pages of plates showing specimens from the copybooks discussed. These are, for the most part, concerned with the scripts then also used in England and on the Continent, for the Pilgrim fathers could bring with them only the prevailing fashions in scripts. The strictly new-world contribution was not to come until 1791. But it is a pleasure to meet so many early writing masters of New England—a lively mixture of talents not widely known. Their scripts developed out of the two prevailing hands in the Europe of the late 1500's, at which time arose the modern current hand, the running secretary script. From Italy into the rest of the world (and so to New England) came a clearer humanistic writing known as italic chancery cursive.

This graceful, sinewy running hand (now in vigorous revival in Europe and America) became for the educated Englishman a hand to supplement his native black letter script, the running secretary. Yet the italic novelty was suspect ("the Englishman italianate is a devil incarnate"); even the gentle Shakespeare is plainly for the sturdy old gothic, leaving italic to scholars or to the pretentious. The scholarly Ben Jonson and Roger Ascham were for it, the latter teaching it to the young Elizabeth.

Mr. Nash credits Elder Brewster with bringing italic to the colonies; for, "as the only member of the Pilgrim band with a university background," he had learned it at the University of Cambridge, and used his knowledge in overseeing the education of the colonists' children. He notes, too, that John Winthrop, the first governor, "was capable of a sound italic." Page by page we become acquainted with the leading colonial writing masters, their working conditions, their social status, their too-frequent low pay. Their cultural influence must have been considerable, but would have been immense if their instructional sheets had been published in print rather than circulated so largely in manuscript only. We learn much about Abiah Holbrook and Richard Rogers, and of the disparity in their rewards. In those days, if not in these, college men were apt to be superior penmen, and many became writing masters at full or part time. To the Boston area, for example, came Philemon Pormort (1635), John Sanford (1665), Daniel Henchman (1666), William Howard (1667), William Haynes (1680), Eliezer Moodey and Thomas Atkins (1688), Edward Mills (1691) and Peter Burr (1694)—the last two from Harvard College. Benjamin Franklin tells how as a boy of nine in Boston he studied writing under his admired George Brownell. The plain and practical round hand so learned was to serve as model for the first printed copybook printed in the colonies (1748) and again for the handsome script type cut many years later for his private press at Passy by S. P. Fournier the younger. That first copybook was George Fisher's *The American Instructor*, a book long known in England and printed by Franklin and Hall in Philadelphia in 1748. It was continuously reissued until 1833 in sixteen editions (fully described in the bibliography), separately issued by printer-publishers in Philadelphia, New York, Burlington, Boston, Worcester, and Washington.

Such use of English models was bound to give pre-eminence to the English round hand, which by the eighteenth century was firmly established in most of Europe. John Hancock, Washington, Jefferson, all wrote in this script. And Fisher's popular text, like so many others of his time, had a way of showing "Italian Hand" as virtually identical with "Round Hand" (see Nash's plates VI and VIII). So round hand prevailed. And when the first manual produced on American soil, John Jenkins' *The Art of Writing* (Boston, 1791), appeared,

it too concentrated on this same round hand in what he called a "system" original with him. Mr. Nash is able by strict documentation to deflate this claim to its just proportions.

The world of letter forms will be grateful for this definitive study of what may be called the shaping period of the American hand, and will await with keen interest the supplemental account of the lively and litigious period that brought us full-arm movement and the Platt Rogers Spencerian Age. The present title forms the third volume of *Studies in the History of Calligraphy* jointly sponsored by Harvard College Library and the Newberry Library, and in this instance published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. The Anthoensen Press of Portland, Maine, has made this book a delightful blend of scholarship, beauty, and convenience.

PAUL STANDARD

New York, N. Y.

POWELL, WILLIAM S., editor. *North Carolina Fiction 1734-1957, An Annotated Bibliography*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library, 1958. xviii, 189 pp., 5 plates. 9 x 6 inches.

The purpose of this bibliography, according to its editor, is "to make readily available to reference librarians, teachers, students, local historians, antiquarians, writers, and other interested users a substantial quantity of pertinent information about every known book of fiction with an ascertainable North Carolina setting published during the past 223 years. No part of this purpose is to *recommend* for profitable or enjoyable reading a random selection of such a two-century 'attic' accumulation."

If this has been the controlling purpose of the editor, it has not been kept in mind by all of his contributors (there were over a hundred of them). Many of the annotations focus on setting, but there are a substantial number that seem to be directly concerned with critical judgement. For instance, the description of Jerome Bruce's *Studies in Black and White* (item 49) is clearly critical in intent: "Pro-slavery propaganda dominates this Civil War story. Lucy is the Yankee bride of Jack De Mar, wealthy Huguenot planter of eastern North or South Carolina. Poorly written, weak in characterization, the book is a series of loosely connected, generally improbable incidents."

Such an entry is primarily directed to the discriminating reader rather than the scholar or teacher who is concerned with the North Carolina setting. However, one finds from the Introduction that the listing was compiled "on the basis of setting alone" and that many novels by North Carolina authors were

excluded on this basis, as well as some that used a regional setting so generalized that it could not be identified as specifically North Carolinian. With such rigid grounds for *exclusion*, it seems that the compilers should have been far more careful in their annotations to indicate their grounds for *inclusion*. Consider this item (no. 640), for instance: "Clark Fariston dabbles with Communist movement while a Princeton student. Returning to North Carolina, he is tremendously successful managing an inherited business. Communistic former classmates blackmail him and then secure the torpedoing of a World War II ship to which he is assigned. He survives and returns to North Carolina."

All that one finds out here is that the hero is a North Carolinian. The researcher looking for information on the North Carolina setting has little to do with plot details of torpedoed ships in the Atlantic(?) unless they are sunk on the Outer Banks. Surely within the fifty words allowed the annotator, it could have been possible to indicate something more about the setting—small town, rural, Tidewater, or Piedmont.

On the other hand, there are a number of annotations that hew to the line of the announced purpose. The description of Waldron Bailey's *Heart of the Blue Ridge* (item 12) will illustrate: "Life in North Carolina about 1880, in the mountains for the most part. Also mentioned are Greensboro, the Dismal Swamp, Ocracoke, Pamlico Sound, and Elizabeth City. Legend and dialect of the regions are used in relating incidents of romance, gangs, and distilleries."

Unfortunately, annotations like the one above are not in abundance. Too many of the compilers have busied themselves with plot summaries and critical commentaries to the neglect of specific indications as to what the books contain relative to North Carolina. In a bibliography chiefly concerned with setting, this is a grave defect.

In other respects the book is well managed and easy to use. Library holdings are carefully indicated, and there is a useful subject, title, and author index. One could wish that the binding were a bit more substantial: reference books should be sturdily made (I understand that the system of state contracts with certain printers does not always result in handsome books). Mr. Powell and his co-workers are to be commended on this ambitious undertaking, number two in a series of University of North Carolina *Library Studies*, but one can hope that in future collective enterprises a firmer line will be taken with the many contributors.

ROBERT D. JACOBS

University of Kentucky

THORNTON, MARY LINDSAY, comp. *A Bibliography of North Carolina, 1589-1956*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. viii, 597 pp. 9 x 6 inches. \$7.50.

For the second time in five years Miss Mary L. Thornton has made a major contribution to American bibliography. The volume under review is an accompanying volume to her excellent 1954 compilation: *The Official Records of the Colony and State of North Carolina, 1749-1939*, also published by the University of North Carolina Press. Together these two volumes constitute by far the most complete bibliography of North Carolina in existence.

A Bibliography of North Carolina is based solely on the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. Miss Thornton served as Librarian of the Collection from 1917 to 1958 and guided its development and growth to its present size of around 200,000 items, including over 66,000 bound volumes. *A Bibliography* is arranged in dictionary form and contains slightly over 15,500 entries. The format is a logical one; the volume is easy to use and has an excellent index. Misprints are at a minimum. Titles are shortened and the collation is brief—preface pagings, illustrations, maps, and size being omitted—but full imprint information is given. The newspapers, maps, federal and state documents, and manuscript theses of the North Carolina Collection are omitted. State documents, including publications of institutions supported by the state, were, of course, fully covered in Miss Thornton's *Official Publications*. Included are materials dealing with North Carolina and North Carolinians, periodicals published in North Carolina, and the writings of North Carolinians. The latter has been defined to include works of authors whose work was published while they were in official residence in the state, as well as the work of native-born North Carolinians.

Since this volume is based on the North Carolina Collection, it should serve as a mirror image of it. The Collection has been built on the plan of a complete depository for local printing with "emphasis on ephemeral materials of the present as well as relics of the past." Judged from this standard the Collection is a disappointing one. On both points the Collection falls far short of its stated aims. Close examination of the list shows that too many of the early rarities are available only in reprint or in microfilm and that the ephemera of local history have been collected in a most haphazard and unsystematic manner. Conspicuous by their absence in the original are such foundation items as John Lederer's *Discoveries*, John Locke's *Fundamental Constitutions*, the *Present State of Carolina* of 1682, and Edward Williams' *Virginiai*—to mention a few. Not found in any form is Herman Husband's *Some Remarks on Religion*. One gains the impression that the North Carolina Collection has been left to rock along

without adequate and sufficient financial support, that it has had to rely too largely on the isolated gift, and that insufficient effort has been expended to fill the lacunae in both major rarities and local ephemera. It is to be hoped that more endowments on the nature of that accompanying the Bruce Cotten Collection of North Caroliniana will be forthcoming in order that the North Carolina Collection can become the Collection it deserves to be.

On the whole this volume poses a good many "whys"—which are directed more at the Collection than at the *Bibliography* itself. Why are some general Southern items included while others equally applicable to North Carolina are omitted? Especially is this the case with Civil War books. Why are some, but not all, the publications of certain North Carolinians included? Those of the Reverend Billy Graham and Robert Ruark are good examples. Why the inclusion of the publications of some Duke University professors (while residents of the state) and the exclusion of the publications of others? Why aren't the holdings of certain periodicals which are found in other units of the University of North Carolina Library included? A check of the periodicals listed in the *Bibliography* against those listed for the University's Libraries in the recently published *Southeastern Supplement to the Union List of Serials* reveals differing holdings listed: e.g., the several periodical titles beginning with "Tarheel." This suggests that much of a "North Carolina collection" is in the other libraries of the University and that the several parts thereof should, at least, be co-ordinated through the catalogue of the North Carolina Collection. Why include a single issue of a high school annual, or a municipal document, or a chamber of commerce report, out of the many dozens issued in the series? The comprehensive collection of the multitudinous materials of local history is a most commendable aim, but it is self-defeating to the collector and the user as well unless it is done effectively and thoroughly.

While this volume is the best available bibliography on North Carolina, it would have been a much more useful volume had Miss Thornton followed her own example used in the *Official Publications . . . of North Carolina* and included the rich and complementing holdings of North Caroliniana in such collections as those of Duke University Library, the North Carolina State Library, the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, the University of South Carolina Library, and the University of Virginia Library.

E. G. ROBERTS

Southern Regional Education Board

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